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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI VOLUMEXXXVI

# THE <br> OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI VOLUME XXXVI 

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY
R. A. COLES
D. FORABOSCHI
A. H. SOLIMAN EL-MOSALLAMY
J. R. REA

URSULA SCHLAG

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY
G. M. BROWNE, D. JORDAN, A. H. R. E. PAAP, D. ROKEAH, A. SWIDEREK

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## PREFACE

Many scholars have had a share in the production of this part. Twenty-three texts have been contributed to it by Dr. A. H. Soliman el-Mosallamy of Cairo, U.A.R.; nine by John Rea; six by Dr. Daniele Foraboschi of the Università degli Studi, Milan; five each by Dr. R. A. Coles of Oxford and Dr. Ursula Schlag of the University of Kiel ; three by Miss Anna Swiderek of the University of Warsaw ; two by Dr. David Rokeah of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; one each by Dr. Gerald M. Browne (Harvard University), David Jordan (Brown University), and Professor A. H. R. E. Paap (University of Cape Town). Most of these texts are documentary. But there are a few pieces of extant classical authors (2747-2751), and 2745 and 2746 offer an unusual theological and literary type of text.

After twenty years signal service Mr. T. C. Skeat has withdrawn from the joint editorship of the Graeco-Roman Memoirs. His colleague would like to express his gratitude for the care, conscientiousness, and brilliant emendations of his period of office. The general editorship has been reconstituted as a triumvirate, and Mr. P. J. Parsons and Dr. J. R. Rea have taken his place.

At the end of the volume is a short appendix of additions and corrections to papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society. It has no claim to completeness, being merely a collection of matters that came to our notice since the idea arose of calling attention to new readings somewhat earlier than can be done by the Berichtigungsliste. Contributions for publication from those who have occasion to modify texts in the Graeco-Roman Memoirs will be gratefully received and acknowledged in later volumes.

The editors would like to acknowledge the care and helpfulness of the Oxford University Press in the printing of this part. They would also like to thank Mr. W. E. H. Cockle for assistance with the proof reading, and with the preparation of the plates. John Rea has made the index.

January 1970
P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER

General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

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| GMB | $=$ Gerald M. Browne | AHREP | $=$ A. H. R. E. Paap |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| RAC | $=$ R. A. Coles | JRR | $=$ J. R. Rea |
| DF | $=$ Daniele Foraboschi | DR | $=$ David Rokeah |
| DJ | David Jordan | US | $=$ Ursula Schlag |
| AHSE-M | $=$ Abdulla Hassan Soliman el-Mosallamy | AS | $=$ Anna Swiderek |

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXIV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the apparatus criticus, where also faults of orthography, \&c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets $\rangle$ a mistaken omission in the original, braces \{ \} a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets $\mathbb{I \rrbracket}$ a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, Greek Papyri: an Introduction (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be selfexplanatory.

## I. THEOLOGICAL TEXT

## 2745. Onomasticon of Hebrew Names

$16 \times 16.7 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Third/fourth century
The recto contains part of a land register written in large cursive letters with wide spaces between the lines. The script is comparable to that of plates $34 b, 36$, and 37 of Schubart's Papyri Graecae Berolinenses, which are of the first (plate $34 b$ ) and second (plates 36,37 ) halves of the third century a.D. Professor E. G. Turner has assigned it to the end of the second century A.D. The verso contains three columns of clear uncial script of a type common in literary papyri. It is assigned by Professor Turner to the end of the third century A.D., although a later date (fourth century) cannot altogether be excluded. The formation of the letters $\omega$ and $v$ is instructive in this respect (cf. 2263 ; PSI I 337 ).

The verso is apparently part of a far larger compilation of names and etymologies. Of the three columns which appear, columns A and C contain some thirty-five Hebrew proper names, all beginning with the letter $I$, and column B provides an etymological interpretation of the names in column A. A few letters of an earlier column appear at the lower left of column A. These letters were probably part of another column of interpretations.

The compiler of this list drew extensively upon the Septuagint ; this is proved by the occurrence of such obscure names from the genealogical lists in Genesis and Chronicles as Iemouel, Iamein, Iereioth, Iekemia, Ierkaan, and Iebaal. Iemouel and Iamein even follow one another $\left(\mathrm{A}_{5}, 6\right)$ as in the genealogical list in Genesis 46 : io. The repetition of two names, Iamein and Ioab, in columns A ( 6, II) and $C(9,7$ ) can perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that the compiler copied out and interpreted indiscriminately in sequence every name occurring in every book of the Old Testament, regardless of its having appeared earlier. A similar pattern is found in the work of Hieronymus.

There are obvious mistakes in some of the Greek words in the list: for example, ${ }_{c v \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon c \alpha}$ is used instead of $c v \nu \tau \epsilon \in \lambda \epsilon \iota a$ ( B 8 ), and an unknown form avavєvavc $\mu \epsilon \nu o c$ appears ( $\mathrm{B}_{16}$ ). There is therefore little to wonder at in the corrupt transcription of some of the Hebrew names. For these garbled Hebrew names (e.g. Ci2 Iaєк, CI8 $I \omega \subset \eta \rho)$ there are no parallels in the Septuagint, and, even where the interpretation is extant, it is difficult to determine the original form of the names (e.g. AB9 $I_{\epsilon} \mu a \rho \epsilon \mu$ оєктьриос).

With the help of this papyrus, the Heidelberg papyrus (P. Heidelberg i, pp. 86 seqq.), and Hieronymus' Onomasticum ( $=$ Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum, vol. Ixxii of the Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 1959), the existing late-Greek
onomastica ( $=$ Onomasticum Coislinianum, Onomastica Vaticana, Glossae Colbertinae (edited P. de Lagarde, Onomastica Sacra i, 1870)) can be traced to a much earlier date. Especially instructive is the agreement between 2745 and the Onomastica in rare words and unusual forms, e.g. $\mathrm{AB}_{4}$ Ia $\beta \in \iota \subset \quad \xi \eta[\rho] a c \mu o c ~ \eta \alpha \iota c \chi v[\nu \eta]$, Vat. OS 192, 81
 Іаш є́коисіóтŋс.

Further comment becomes speculative. The implications of this fragment are discussed more fully in D. Rokeah, 'A New Onomasticon Fragment from Oxyrhynchus and Philo's Etymologies', JTS 19 (1968) pp. 70-82. Mr. Rokeah summarizes: 'The authorship of the extant Greek onomastica is hesitantly ascribed to Philo by Eusebius and Hieronymus (Eusebius, HE ii 18, 7; Hieronymus, Liber . . . etc., p. 29). The abundance of Hebrew etymologies in Philo probably led to this mistaken conclusion; it has also caused a difference of opinion among modern scholars as to his knowledge of Hebrew (summarized by Hanson, "Philo's Etymologies", JTS xviii (1967), pp. 128-39). Amir's recent arguments ("Explanation of Hebrew Names in Philo", Tarbiz xxxi (1961-2), p. 297 (Hebrew)) seem to be convincing in this respect. He drew attention to the fact that it is only in translating the name Jethro that Philo uses the form $\pi \epsilon \rho u c$ cóc ; otherwise only the form $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \tau o c_{c}$ is employed. From this practice, Amir rightly inferred that Philo must have copied from a written list in these cases. An entry in our papyrus ( $\mathrm{AB}_{5}$ ) ; I $\epsilon_{\epsilon \epsilon \rho} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota c c o c$ adds weight to this argument.
'Just as the assumption that Philo knew Hebrew in any degree cannot be upheld, so the attempt to establish connections or influences of Rabbinic exegetical methods and traditions on Philo's allegorical interpretations (e.g. those of S. Belkin, "The Exegesis of Names in Philo", Horeb xii (1956), pp. 3-62 (Hebrew)) must be rejected. All that can be said is that since the starting-point of both Philo and the Midrash was the etymological meaning of the Hebrew names, it was inevitable that some similarities should exist.
'An analysis of the entries in our papyrus (see especially $A B_{1}$ and $A_{20}$, Bzo-r) makes it obvious that the compiler was strongly attached to the Septuagint translation, which he constantly compared with the Hebrew version; by this method he extracted and offered his etymological interpretations.
'Our papyrus contributes to a more definite negative judgement upon Philo's knowledge of Hebrew. Since this anonymous work clearly preceded Philo's, its first compilation should be placed in the late third or early second century b.c., as both a concomitant to the Septuagint translation and a mine of information for the enormous literary activity which came in its wake.'
E. G. Turner comments: 'Mr. Rokeah wishes to maintain his confidently expressed opinion that 2745 can be linked with an onomasticon compiled before the time of Philo and utilized by him. It must, however, be pointed out that the use of a nomen sacrum ( $\mathrm{B}_{5}, \theta \overline{\mathrm{v}}$ ) in 2745 demonstrates that this text was copied by a Christian scribe, not a Jewish one, and was probably written in a Christian ambience. Origen is said
by Jerome（Corpus Christianorum lxxii $59-60$ ）to have worked in this field，and cer－ tainly to have compiled an interpretation of New Testament Hebrew names．Jerome＇s words，＂laboravit ut，quod Philo quasi Iudaeus omiserat，hic［Origenes］ut Christianus impleret＂，might be taken to mean that he supplemented Philo＇s interpretation of Old Testament Hebrew names．It therefore becomes necessary to ask，as Mr．Rokeah does not do，whether this text is a copy of part of an onomasticon compiled by Origen． Its palaeographical date is entirely suitable．＇

| $\downarrow$ | A |  | B |  | C |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\beta$［ ］ |  |  |
|  | ［ |  | $\kappa \omega[$ ］cıc |  |  |
|  | $I \in \beta \cdot \underline{ }$ |  | $\pi \alpha \rho[$ ］$\mu \alpha$ |  | ［．．．．］！ov |
|  | Iа $\beta \in ⿺ 廴 ⿻ 肀 二$ |  | $\xi \eta[\rho] a<\mu$ ос $\eta$ aıc $\chi \nu[\nu \eta]$ |  | $I \omega ¢[\epsilon \delta] \epsilon \kappa$ |
| 5 | Iє $\mu$ огך $\lambda$ | 5 | $\eta \mu \epsilon \rho a \iota$ avtov $\theta \bar{v}$ | 5 | Іахєце |
|  | Iарє |  | $\delta \epsilon \xi$ ıос |  | Ieccaı |
|  | Iccaopev |  | $\eta \lambda а \iota \omega \mu \in v$ ос |  | I $\omega$ aß |
|  | İарар |  |  |  | Iє $¢ \epsilon \iota \omega \theta$ |
|  | $I \epsilon \mu а \rho \epsilon \mu$ |  | оьктьриос |  | Ia $\mu \in \iota$ |
| 10 | $I \omega \eta \lambda$ | 10 | aтapхoнеvoc | 10 | I $\delta a[$ |
|  | $I \omega \alpha \beta$ |  | Iaw «ххис |  | İceci［ |
|  | I $\omega$ vada $\beta$ |  | Iaw єкоисьотךс |  | Іаєк［ |
|  | I $\omega \chi$ а |  | Iate катасХє¢！ |  | $I . v[$ |
|  | $I \omega \phi$ 文єc |  | Iаш $\delta \iota \delta$ скка入ос |  | $I_{\epsilon} \kappa \in \mu[\iota \alpha]$ |
| 15 | $I \epsilon \theta \epsilon \rho$ | 15 | $\pi \in \rho$ ıссос | ${ }^{1} 5$ | Ієрк．［ |
|  | Ia $\alpha$ 入 |  | аขаขєขаис $\mu$ еvoc |  | İрка［ $\alpha \nu]$ |
|  | $I \omega \tau \alpha \delta \epsilon$ |  |  |  | $I \omega \subset \eta[$ |
|  | $[I \omega] \alpha \mu \omega \nu$ |  | $\pi \iota \subset \tau \iota$ |  | $I \omega \subset \eta \rho[$ |
|  | I $\omega \zeta$ ¢ $\chi \alpha[\rho]$ |  | Ia $\omega \mu \nu \eta \mu \eta$ |  | $I_{\epsilon} \phi \theta_{0}$ |
| 20 | $I[\epsilon \lambda \iota \epsilon(?)] \zeta \in \rho$ | 20 | Iaw $\beta$ оך $\ell<\underline{1}$ | 20 | $I a \beta \eta[$ |
|  | $I[\omega \subset \alpha \beta] \epsilon \epsilon$ |  | Ia $\omega \lambda \lambda\rangle<\mu \circ \nu \eta \eta$ Ia $\omega$ |  | $I \epsilon \beta \alpha a \underset{\sim}{[\lambda]}$ |
|  |  |  | $\epsilon \beta \delta$ о $\mu$ о |  | $\operatorname{Iav} \omega[$ |
|  |  |  |  |  | $I \epsilon \lambda \ell \phi[$ |

To the left，ends of lines of a previous column ：opp．A 15 ．$\tau \omega$ ，opp．A 19$]<\eta \pi$ ．$\lambda \eta$


 cuvı $\omega v$ ．Hieron．CC 102， 2 Iabes exsiccata vel siccitas；IO4，I Iabes exsiccata．

 eius deus. $\theta \bar{v}$ seems to be a scribe's mistaken correction for $\overline{\theta c}$; this is corroborated by Hieronymus' Onomasticum and the meaning of the Hebrew. Whereas the meaning of the Coisl. ('God's sea') can be derived from the Hebrew, the Vat. probably transferred the etymology of the very similar name $I \epsilon \mu \circ \nu \imath \eta \lambda$ (which is interpreted in the Vat. itself as $\delta \epsilon \xi \imath a \dot{i} \subset \chi v \rho \circ \hat{v}$ ) to $I \epsilon \mu \circ v \eta \lambda$. On the contraction of sacred names see A. H. R. E. Paap, Nomina Sacra . . . etc., in Pap. Lugd. Bat. viii (1959), pp. I-2, 124-6.

 follow one another in our papyrus just as in the Vat., Hieronymus, and the Old Testament (Gen. 46: 10; Exod. 6: 15).

 in the Septuagint by $\dot{\eta} \lambda \epsilon \iota \mu \mu \epsilon \in \nu o c, ~ \chi p ı c \tau o ́ c$, but Hieronymus' translation is probably based on a similar interpretation in the Onomastica now missing. By unctio mea probably is intended the Hebrew Iṣhari (יְִָּרִי). Whereas our papyrus aims at a literal translation, the somewhat similar Rabbinic exegesis is a play on the association 'oil'/'oiled'. See Numbers Rabbah (Korah) xviii 16 and parallels.

 êctıv пєкро́c. Hieron. CC 76, 27 Ithamar ubi amarus vel ubi palına vel est amarus sive insulae palma. The Hebrew word is split into two in the papyrus, and the ' m ' repeated twice, Itham-mar, to yield two words, each explicable.

AB9 Iє $\mu \alpha \rho \epsilon \mu$ oiкть $\rho \mu$ óc. It is difficult to reconstruct the Hebrew. It might have been a corruption of Iemarer (יָּרָר), but then we would expect the interpretation oiкт oóc, oiктос. On the other hand oiкть $\rho$ оóc is the equivalent of the Hebrew Ieroam (ירֹזָם) (the Septuagint also has (I Chr. 9: 12, MS. A) the version $I_{\epsilon \rho a \alpha \mu}($ Luc. $I \epsilon \rho о a \mu)$ ) and of other names derived from the roots 'rahem' or 'hanon' (רָחֵ,
 oikтı $^{\top}$. have happened here, with $I_{\epsilon} \mu \alpha \rho \epsilon \mu$ being added later mistakenly. The Coisl. has inter alia oiктєp ${ }^{\prime}$ óc for $I \epsilon \rho \mu \iota a(O S ~ 169,62)$ and $I_{\epsilon \rho \iota a ~(O S ~ 168, ~ 60) . ~ H i e r o n . ~ C C ~ 104, ~}^{29}$ has Ieroam misericors. The Heidelberg papyrus has $[I] \epsilon \rho a \eta \lambda$ oiкть $\rho \mu$ v̂. In his commentary, Deissmann said that $I \epsilon \rho a \eta \lambda$ was a scribal




 March. (Klostermann, Z ATW xxiii (1903), pp. 135-40), p. 138 Iw ${ }^{2}$ icxùc кupiov. Hieron. CC 104, I Iohel incipiens vel fuit dei ; I24, 5 Iohel incipiens vel est deus vel dei; 146, 18 Iohel incipiente deo sive est deus. Melitonis clavis (I. B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense iii ( 1855 ), pp. 395 seqq.) Joel, incipiente Deo. The Coisl. and the Latin onomastica support our papyrus as to the reading. (The Vat. OS 173 , $65 \ldots \dot{\alpha} \pi a \rho \chi \grave{\eta} \theta \in o \hat{v}$ is perhaps also derived from the verb $\dot{a} \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \in \subset \theta a \iota$, but adopts a different meaning of the verb.) The meaning 'to begin' for the Hebrew 'Iaol' (יאוֹל) is probably an elaboration of the
 worth noting that the Hebrew verb usually means 'to be good enough, kind enough' and only here is translated differently.
 $\pi a \tau \eta ̀ \eta ~ к \nu \rho i o v ~ \ddot{\eta} \alpha \gamma a \pi \eta \tau o ́ c$. Heidelberg papyrus $I \omega \beta a \beta \iota \omega \pi a \tau \eta \dot{\eta}$ (Deissmann, 89,6 ; he suggested this was a scribal mistake for $I \omega \alpha \beta$ ). Hieron. CC 104, 4 Ioab inimicus vel est pater; cf. Genesis Rabbah xciv 9 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. II82), Slotki's translation: 'Thy name is Joab, . . . meaning that thou art a father (ab) . . A. Ansileubi (Pitra, p. 396, 35) Joab inimicus. Although there is no parallel to the etymology of our papyrus (Vat. OS 186, 98 has, inter alia, icxùc $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ as an interpretation of $A \zeta a \eta \lambda$, and Coisl. OS 16I, io has ic $\chi$ v̀c áopárov as one interpretation of $A \mu a c ı a c)$ it no doubt existed, because it
derives clearly from the Septuagint and the Hebrew version. Isa. $49: 26$ 'abir Jacob' (אֵבִיר יַעַּקב) is
 15). This explains why the compiler of our papyrus attributed to the Hebrew 'ab' (א) the otherwise non-existent meaning of 'might' (icxúc).
 غ́коисót $\eta$ c. Hieron. CC 1о7, 5 Ionadab domini spontaneus. This rare word is probably an elaboration
 authorities (Memnon ap. Photium, Nicet., and Zonar.). Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon quotes Hesych. H., Ps. tit. 70 (М. 27, 93 I c) I I

 крáтoc кирiov. Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 18) Iaxă̧ (a scribal mistake for Iwaxa , according to Deissmann) taш кра́тос. Hieron. CC 116,2 Ioaaz ubi est retinere vel domini retentio. Melito (Pitra, p. 305) Joachaz, Robustus. Ansil. (Pitra, p. 396) Ioachaz robustus. The derivation of Iwaxắ кaтd́( $\chi$ єcic from the Septuagint is most likely, since катácұєсис there ('possession, holding, estate') is 'ahuza'

 the other lambdas (but compare the $\lambda$ in B 21 ), but there is not much choice. I $\omega \boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\lambda} \epsilon \mathrm{c}$ is nowhere to be found ; the clue is perhaps in the equation $\phi$ ग $\lambda \epsilon \epsilon=\phi a \rho \epsilon \epsilon$, and this Hebrew word (פרשׂ) is interpreted by סisácкєlv in the Septuagint (Neh. 8: 8).

 Hieron. CC 75, 23 Iethro superfluus huius. The etymologies for Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, have also been cited because Jethro is derived from the same Hebrew root as Iether. In fact, Jethro is once called Iether in the Hebrew (Exod. 4: 18), but the Septuagint has Ioto $\rho$ just as when he is called Iethro in the Hebrew. In I Chr. $2:$ 17 $^{\text {, the Hebrew I }}$ Iether is also transcribed as Iooop by MS. B (Luc. $I_{\epsilon} \theta \epsilon \rho$ ). Philo stated three times (De agricult. 43; De mut. nom. 103; De gig. 50) that Iotop means $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota c$ cóc, whereas in all the other, numerous, cases he uses the form $\pi \epsilon \rho$ eftóc. This suggests that he must have been using one of our compilations since he himself did not know Hebrew. For a Rabbinic exegesis based on the etymology of Iether see Mechilta, Jethro, chap. i (ed. Ilorowitz-Rabin, p. 189), and parallels.

ABI6 Iaa入 ávavevavcuévoc. Iaal is the version of MS B (= Vat.) for Iaap in i Kgs. 14: 25. Ia'ar (יעַר), meaning 'forest', was taken to be a place name by the Septuagint translator. The form $\dot{\alpha} \nu a$ vaứw does not exist.

 (exactly as in our papyrus) domini cognitio ; ibid. ro8, 7 Ioiadahe domini cognitio sive ipso cognoscente; ib. 107, 5 Ioadahe ipse cognoscens.

 ıaw тictıc. The Septuagint has I Iwav in I Chr. 4: r9 (Luc. om.), but there is no Hebrew parallel.
 áoátov $\mu \nu \dot{\eta} \mu \eta$. Hieron. CC ir6, 28 Iozachar domini memoria vel qui est memor. A small trace of the left edge of the $a$ is recognizable.


 adiutor. Melito (Pitra, 304, 8) Eliezer, Dei adjutorium. The restoration IE $\epsilon \epsilon \xi_{\epsilon \rho \rho}$ is forced on us by the large gap (of the same size as in the following line A2I, where four letters fit into the gap), the $I$ at the beginning of the word and the $\zeta_{\epsilon \rho \rho}$ at the end, and the interpretation (Iaw Boij$\theta a$ ). The possibility of such a formation by the addition of an $I$ is enhanced by i Macc. 2: 5 , where we find the version
 might have contributed to the conflation.


 beth dei mei saturitas vel dei mei iuramentum aut dei mei septimus; ibid. in6, 27 losabe ubi est saturitas vel domini saturitas. Since Jehoseba and Elisheba are of identical import in Hebrew, they are interpreted similarly by the various Onomastica. Of the four interpretations available ( $\pi \lambda \eta \subset \mu \circ \nu \dot{\eta}, \stackrel{\mu}{\epsilon} \beta \delta o \mu o \nu$,
 translation of the Hebrew 'sheva' (שֻׁבַ), it almost always accompanies a noun in the neuter ( $\epsilon$ тoc). The one exception in a dozen cases is 'Job 5: 19; the compiler usually adopts the translation of the Septuagint, here and in other cases.


 praeparans (cf. ibid. 76, 24).

 Iessai insulae sacrificium vel incensum ; ibid. iri, I3 Iessai insulae sacrificium vel holocaustum; ibid. 146, 20 Iessai insulae oblatio; Melito (Pitra, 305, 32): Gessai [or Jesse] Insulae IIolocaustum vel sacrificium.

C7 Iwaß̣. See ABir above.
C8 Iєрє $\omega \theta$ : Hebrew יריעיעוֹת. In I Chr. 2 : $18(\mathrm{~A})=I \epsilon \rho \iota \omega \theta$; Luc. $I \epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \omega \theta$.
C9 Ia $\mu \epsilon \tau$. See AB6 above.
Cio $I \delta a[$ ]. The Septuagint has $I \delta a, I \delta a \iota$, and $I \delta a \in \rho$, which transcribe different Hebrew names.
Cil Iecect[ ]. Perhaps a version of the Vat. OS 183, 28 Icecıac, and ibid. 184, 70 Ieccıac.
Ci2 Iatк [ ]. Not found elsewhere. The Septuagint has many names which begin with $I \epsilon \kappa$.
Ci3 I.v[ ]. The word might be Iwvav or Iovoac (more likely). Both names have several inter-

 Iєкцаav for יקמעם in i Chr. $6: 53$, and ibid. 168, 52 Iєкєvıac ảvácтасıc áopátov.

Ci5 Iєрк.[ ]. The word might be Iєрк८с, Iєркк[ ], or Iєркьo[ ].




 Melito (Pitra, 303, II) Joseph Augmentatio sive ampliatio . . .

CI8 I $\omega \subset \eta \rho[$ ]. Not found elsewhere. Perhaps equivalent to Iac $\eta \rho$.
 75 has Iєфөaє Iaw dıávoı乡ıc.

Czo Iaß ${ }_{[ }$. ]. Not found elsewhere. Josephus has $I \alpha \beta \eta<o c$ for Iaßєıc, but it is difficult to assume that the compiler of the Onomastica inserted such a graecized form, especially since he had already included the Septuagint form Iaßeuc.

C2I $I \epsilon \beta a \alpha[\lambda]$. The restoration may also be $I \epsilon \beta a \alpha[\rho]$. They transcribe different Hebrew proper nouns: בַּבַּלָה = name of a place, it appears in Josh. 15:9 (B), and the following name in the list, Iavw, is also found in Josh. 16:6.
 in Josh. 16: 6, and Iav $\omega$, in 2 Kgs. $15: 29$ (A). Eusebius has $I a v \omega$ in his Onomasticon, and Hieron. CC 95, Ii has Ianua requies.
 and similar words. As in the case of $E \lambda_{\iota \epsilon} \zeta_{\epsilon \rho}-I \epsilon \lambda_{\epsilon \epsilon} \zeta_{\epsilon \rho}$ (cf. A2o above), it seems to have been contaminated by the addition of an $I$. The fact that $I \omega$ and $E \lambda$ have the same meaning (cf. A2r) probably facilitated this process.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

2746. Tragedy

$$
15.5 \times 28.5 \mathrm{~cm} \text {. Late first or early second century }
$$

One column, preserved for its full height but damaged on the right edge and much effaced in the lower part, from a non-extant tragic drama. 35 lines (including the $\left.\pi a \rho \epsilon \pi \iota \gamma \rho a \phi a i^{\prime}\right)$ across the fibres in a rounded semi-documentary hand, on the verso of a series of memoranda in various cursive hands which I would assign on palaeographical grounds to the first century A.D. There are no accents or marks of elision or punctuation, but there are some paragraphi. Identification of the speakers is an integral and apparently regular feature of the lay-out.

The fragment preserves exchanges between at any rate Priam, Cassandra, Deiphobus, and a Chorus, in iambic trimeters (despite irregularities of lay-out which have obscured the metre). The subject seems fairly clearly to be the single combat between Hector and Achilles described in book xxii of the Iliad. It is less clear, however, whether the passage contains a prophecy by Cassandra of the fight and Hector's death, or an eye-witness account, or whether Cassandra may be seeing the events clairvoyantly.

The identification of the play is uncertain. In BICS I5 ( 1968$)^{1}$ I have discussed the arguments for and against 2746 being part of the Hector of Astydamas (D. L. Page, Greek Literary Papyri i $29 a$ and $b$, P. Hib. 174), and have discussed the interpretation line by line.


|  | $[\Pi \rho i] a \mu o(c)$ |  каì caîcı $\beta[o] u \lambda a i ̂ c ~ \pi \rho о с \delta є ́ \chi o v ~ \tau a ̀ ~ к \rho \epsilon i ́ c c ¢[o v a] ~$. $\dot{\varphi} \delta \dot{\eta}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $[K a c] ¢\left({ }^{\prime} \nu \delta \rho \alpha\right)$ |  |
| 5 | ${ }^{\text {(Прi }}$ ]a $\mu$ (ос) |  |
|  | $[K a]$ ¢ $¢ \alpha ́ \nu \delta(\rho a)$ |  |
|  | $[K a]$ cc( $\alpha$ v $\delta \rho \alpha$ ) |  |
|  | $[K a c] ¢\left(\alpha{ }^{\prime} \nu \delta \rho a\right)$ |  |
|  |  | $\dot{\varphi} \dot{\delta} \delta \dot{\eta}$ |
| 10 | [Kacc(áv $\delta \rho \alpha$ )?] | $\kappa о \iota v a ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~ \nu v ̂ \nu ~ \nu \iota \kappa ¢ ิ \mu \epsilon \nu$. |
|  |  |  $\dot{\omega} \delta \dot{\eta}$ |
|  | [Kacc(áv $\delta \rho a)$ ?] |  |
|  |  |  |
| 15 |  | $\varphi \dot{\varphi} \delta \dot{\eta}$ |
|  | [Kacc(áv $\delta \rho \alpha$ ) ?] |  |
|  | [ $\triangle \eta \dot{\prime} \dot{\phi}]$ o( $\beta$ oc) | .[...]. a[.]auтך каì $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \pi \lambda \alpha ́ \gamma \chi \theta \eta<~ ф \rho \in ́ v a$. $\dot{\varphi} \delta \dot{\eta}$ |
|  | [Kacc(áv $\delta \rho \alpha$ ) ?] | ov่ $\pi \alpha \rho \in \kappa \in \in ¢ \lambda] \in \cup \in ¢ ;$ |
| 20 | [name] | $\pi \alpha \tau \ldots \tau . . . . a \tau o\left[\right.$ [ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ].[ |
|  | ] | $\underset{\substack{\text { ôc }}}{\boldsymbol{\varphi} .[.] . \epsilon \ldots \bar{\eta}}$ |
|  | [name]. | [.] ] $¢ \in$ ¢óv $\mu$ oı $\tau$ [ |
|  | [name] | $\alpha \kappa о v[] ..[] ..[.] . ~ a v ~ \gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \nu \nu[$ |
| 25 | [name ?] |  |
|  |  | $\omega_{\varphi}^{\omega} \delta \dot{\eta}$ |
|  | [name] | [].[.]a . . v ¢ $\pi$ \% . $\epsilon \nu \mu \epsilon[$ |
|  | [name] |  |
|  | ] | ..[.]. .[.]. $\delta$. . . $\nu \tau о \kappa$ к $\lambda \epsilon \tau \nu .[$ |
| 30 | ] |  |
|  | ] |  |
|  | [name ?] |  |
|  | [name ?] | [.] $] \lambda$.[..]. . ${ }^{\text {. . } . \rho[. .] . \eta \pi . ~} \rho[$ |
|  |  | $[\dot{\psi} \delta \dot{\eta}]$ |
| 35 | [name] | $\ldots .$. . $]. v[$ |

2 Faint traces（below ］a＇o ${ }^{\prime}$＇in I．I） 7 After initial nota personae，high traces resemble $\pi$ more than anything else
$\chi$ оитa has been re－inked by another hand in a lighter ink io At end of line，$a, \delta$ ，or $\chi \quad$ I3 End，traces which 14 After avvi ，slight traces of ink in what is shown as a lacuna Before $\mu \circ \iota$ ，the end of a high horizontal：perhaps c？ov：the papyrus on the right of the vertical crack has warped upwards．The reading is not doubtful Below beginning of line，para－ graphus and $\beta$ by different hand i6 After ou，к or $\beta$ ？$\quad I_{7}$ Remains of ink in the first indicated lacuna 19 The surface before it is much abraded，but the $o$（with the $v$ ）is written larger as if an initial form The trace at the end seems most like an $\epsilon$ or $c \quad 20$ It seems that the writer originally began the line with $\delta$ ，then inserted $\pi$ before the beginning of the line and changed the $\delta$ into an $a$ On the trace at the end of the line，see the commentary ${ }_{21}$ Before $\rho$ ，oor $\varphi$ ？ If $\rho$ ，is the preceding letter $\delta ?$ ？Letter after po apparently corrected 23 Of initial nota personae， only a tiny spot of ink remains Before $\epsilon p \circ \nu$ ，a high horizontal ：$\tau$ ？but $\gamma$ also possible 27 The initial trace is uncertain $a$ is written rather large，perhaps as initial letter Possibly three letters between $a$ and $y \quad 30$ The first traces of this line are directly under those of the lines preceding： the papyrus is fractured and the upper part has sprung out to the left 31 Paragraphus appears to be by the same hand as the text．（So also，probably，those below 5 and 8 and above II） 32 Be － fore $\chi \eta \varsigma$ ， $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ p possible $\quad 33$ Before $\alpha$ ，are the traces perhaps to be combined as $\mu$ ？Between $a$ and $\rho$ ，space for one average letter，but the traces most resemble $\iota \%$ Before $\eta$ ，end of a diagonal rising to the right $\quad 35$ At the left edge of the papyrus，at a level above and below the traces of this line， cursive marks in a different hand in a lighter ink，apparently irrelevant to the literary text Before $v$ ，traces most resemble $\tau$
（Lines I－19．）（Priam）＇Take courage，child！Do not exhaust yourself！Stay your foot，and adopt the better course in your designs．＇（Cassandra）＇He has thrown the terrible shaft！＇（Priam）＇Who，my child？Tell me．＇（Chorus）＇The Pelian ．．．＇（Cassandra）＇But he missed！＇（Chorus）＇Have you said（？） how it is ．．．？＇（Cassandra）＇Hector is throwing（？）．＇（Chorus）＇This is an unlucky contest（？）．＇（Cas－ sandra）＇Equally he was unlucky ．．．so far we have a common share in victory ．．＇（Deiphobus） ＇What sound called us out of the house？＇（Cassandra？）＇Ah！What do I see？＇［．．．］（Deiphobus）＇The words you uttered are for me greater than a riddle．＇（Cassandra？）＇［Were you not？］in front of the city walls？．．．＇（Deiphobus）＇．．．and you were out of your mind．＇（Cassandra ？）＇Were you not exhort－ ing（him）？＇［．．．］

$3 \dot{\psi} \delta \dot{\eta}^{\prime}$（and 9，I2，I5，18，22，26，and perhaps 34）：the closest parallel is $\dot{\omega} \delta \dot{\eta} \dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta 0 \theta \epsilon \nu$ in Eur．Cyclops 487 ：but the occurrence of the word seven，and probably eight，times in the short space of 2746 is
 io note；and see Pickard－Cambridge，The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens，pp． 160 seqq•；also The Dramatic Festivals of Athens，p．240；Sifakis，Studies，${ }^{\text {I }}$ pp．II 3 seqq．）．Its repetition is against this；also it occurs at points where an interval of any length would be incompatible with the development of the drama．Possibly it means that there was musical accompaniment．However，$\dot{\varphi} \delta \dot{\eta}$ appears to be used rather of singing，or vocal noise at least，than instrumental noise．To its being used here to show the manner of Cassandra＇s utterances，it may be objected（r）that 6 seqq．have not been so classified，and
 thing extra and not anything as to the manner of what follows．The possibility remains that the $\dot{\varphi} \delta a i$ are improvisations by Cassandra．

4 ка́ $а к а:$ cf．Aesch．Nereids（fr． 152 Nauck ${ }^{2}$ ，Lloyd－Jones fr． 75 Loeb）．
4 seqq．Prima facie the arrangement of the text has a neat and balanced appearance（whatever the reason may be for the eisthesis of lines 4 ，io，et al．），but something has gone seriously wrong if the text is to be reconstituted into iambic trimeters．
$5 \Pi_{\eta \lambda \iota} \omega \dot{\tau} \eta c$ is a new form．It would be incorrectly formed as a patronymic from $\Pi_{\eta \lambda \in \dot{v}}$ ，and must derive from $\Pi \dot{\eta} \lambda \iota o \nu$ ．
$6[K a]$ ccá $\nu \delta(\rho a):$ on the spelling of the name，see Fraenkel＇s commentary on Aesch．Ag．ii 467.
$\eta$ グィтó $\chi \not \subset \in \nu$ ：ácтохє́ $\omega$ occurs several times in late prose，but is rare in poetry：perhaps cf．Page， GLP 75，工3．
${ }^{1}$ Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama，London 1967.
$7 \dagger \delta \epsilon \delta \epsilon \mu \lambda \epsilon \dagger$ : the reading is clear, so that there must be some corruption here. I take it that the sense should be that Hector in turn is casting or has cast his spear.

Io кoぃvà $\mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota \nu \hat{\nu} \nu \nu \kappa \hat{\omega} \mu \epsilon \nu$ : a strange and poetically unsatisfying expression. Presumably this is the beginning of an iambic trimeter.

II ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{X} \times \mathrm{c}$ : the first appearance of this word in tragedy.
$a^{\dot{\nu}} \bar{\nu}^{\prime} \kappa \lambda a \gamma \epsilon \nu$ : this verb occurs in Eur. I $A$ no62, but not in the transitive use which is surprising here. The lengthening of the second syllable is to be noted. Cf. Page, A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy, pp. 22 seqq., with notes, esp. p. 24 with n. 25 . Note also $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \pi \lambda a ́ \gamma \chi \theta_{\eta c}$ in I 7 .

14 Perhaps cf. Aesch. Ag. iniz-iz.
On $\bar{\beta}$ below the beginning of the line, cf. Turner's introduction to 2458.
i7 At end, $\phi \rho \in ́ v a[c]$ would be equally possible.
I9 $\pi a \rho \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \in[\lambda] \in v \epsilon \varsigma:$ the papyrus is warped and broken after $\rho$, but this reading of the traces seems secure enough, except that the last two letters are rather ambiguously formed. For the form of $\kappa$, cf., e.g., the first $\kappa$ of ка́ ${ }^{\prime} \kappa \alpha$ (1. 4). The verb occurs in Theodectes (fr. 9, 2, Nauck², p. 804) ; also Ar. Vesp. 530; the active in the pseudo-Hippocratic $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ є $\dot{v} \subset \chi \eta \mu \circ c u ́ v \eta c, ~ 16$, and in Polybius. The attribution of this utterance to Cassandra is of course conjectural.

20 The papyrus is comparatively intact for some distance before the single trace indicated at the end of the line. Either the surface has been abraded (although there is no clear change in this respect between this area and the blank section at the end of 1.19 ) or the line contained antilabe (or a blank space) as above in the inset lines io, 13 etc.
${ }^{2 I}$ It does not seem that ${ }^{\circ} E_{\kappa \tau \omega \rho}$ (or an oblique case thereof) is to be read here. This suggestion might be made in 25 : the traces are much vaguer, but áкov́[c]a $\tau^{\prime}{ }^{\circ} E_{\kappa \tau \varphi \rho}$ may be a possible reading.

24 An imperative form of $\dot{\alpha} \kappa о \cup \cup \omega$, followed by an adjective qualifying $\gamma \bar{\eta} \rho v v$ ?
25 See the note on 21 above. Above the $\tau$ of the putative $\dot{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \dot{\psi}[c] a \tau^{\prime}$, another letter ( $\tau$ ? ) added in a different hand (cf. the ink of $\bar{\beta}$ below 14 init.)?

# III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS 

2747. Homer, Iliad II. I-78
$28.5 \times 19 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Fifth/sixth century
Part of a codex which, when it was complete, contained the second book of Homer's Iliad. The papyrus is thick and coarse. The first 38 lines are written on the face along the fibres and the following 40 lines on the back across the fibres. Those on the back are very faint, as if washed out. The handwriting, written in brown ink, is a regular sloping uncial of the oval type and may belong to the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. Parallels are Schubart, Paläogr. no. 99 ( $=$ PSI 126) and Pap. Graec. Berol. 43b, assigned to A.D. v; M. Norsa, La Scritt. Letter. $16=$ P. Cair. 43227, assigned to A.D. v-vi ; 1373-4.

The text shows some variants from the text of Allen (Oxford, 1931) with which it has been collated.

Recto $\rightarrow$
[İcaסoc $] \beta$

 $[\alpha \lambda \lambda$ о $\gamma \epsilon \mu \epsilon \rho \mu \eta \rho \iota \zeta \epsilon] \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha$ ф $\epsilon \epsilon \nu \alpha \omega \subset A \chi \iota \lambda \eta \alpha$ $[\tau \iota \mu \eta \subset \eta$ одєсๆ $\delta \epsilon \pi]$ одєас $\epsilon \pi \iota \nu \eta \nu c \iota \nu A \chi \alpha \iota \omega \nu$ $[\eta \delta \epsilon \delta \epsilon$ оь ката $\theta v \mu o] \nu$ а $\rho \iota с \tau \eta$ фацขєто $\beta$ оид $\eta$ [ $\pi \epsilon \mu \psi \alpha \iota \epsilon \pi ~ A \tau \rho \epsilon \iota \delta \eta \nu]$ A $\underset{\alpha}{ } \alpha \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha$ ov оиоv ovє七роv $[\kappa \alpha \iota \mu \nu \nu \phi \omega \nu \eta с \alpha c \epsilon \pi] \epsilon \alpha \pi \tau \epsilon \rho о \epsilon \nu \tau \alpha \pi \rho о с \eta \nu \delta \alpha$ [ $\beta$ аск $\iota \theta \iota$ оидє орє $\rho \epsilon]$ ооас $\epsilon \pi \iota \nu \eta \alpha c ~ A \chi a \iota \omega \nu$ $[\epsilon \lambda] \theta \omega \nu$ [ $\epsilon \iota с к \lambda \iota \iota \iota \eta \nu A \gamma] \alpha \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \circ \nu$ ос $A \tau \rho \epsilon \iota \delta \alpha о$ $[\pi] \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \mu \alpha[\lambda \alpha \tau \rho \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \omega c \alpha] \gamma о \rho \epsilon \cup \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \omega c \in \pi \iota \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda \omega$ $\theta \omega \rho \eta \xi \alpha \iota[\epsilon \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \epsilon \kappa \alpha \rho] \eta$ коношитас $A_{\chi \alpha \iota о и с}$ $\pi \alpha c c v \delta \iota \eta[\nu v \nu \gamma \alpha \rho \kappa \epsilon] \nu \in \lambda \circ \iota \pi о \lambda \iota \nu \epsilon v \rho v \alpha \gamma v \iota \alpha \nu$ $T \rho \omega \omega \nu \rho[v \gamma \alpha \rho \epsilon \tau \alpha \mu \phi \iota]$ O $0 \lambda v \mu \pi \iota \alpha \delta \omega \mu \alpha \tau \epsilon \chi o \nu \tau \epsilon[c]$ $\alpha \theta \alpha \nu \alpha \tau[o \iota \phi \rho \alpha \zeta o \nu \tau \alpha l] \epsilon \pi \epsilon \gamma \nu \alpha \mu \psi \epsilon \nu \gamma \alpha \rho \alpha \pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha[c]$
$H \rho \eta \lambda_{\iota c} с о \mu[\epsilon \nu \eta T \rho \omega] \epsilon \subset \subset \iota \delta \epsilon \kappa \eta \delta \epsilon \epsilon \phi \eta \pi \tau \alpha \iota$ $\omega c$ фато $\beta \eta[\delta$ ар о] $\overline{\epsilon \iota \rho о с ~} \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota$ тоv $\mu v \theta$ оу акоисє $\kappa \alpha \rho \pi \alpha \lambda \iota \mu \omega с \delta$ เкаขє $\theta_{\text {оас } \epsilon \pi \iota ~ \nu \eta а с ~} A_{\chi \alpha \iota} \omega \nu$ $\beta \eta \delta$ ар $\epsilon \pi A \tau \rho \epsilon \iota \delta \nu \quad A \gamma \alpha \mu \epsilon \mu \nu о \nu \alpha$ тоข $\delta \epsilon \kappa \iota \chi \alpha \nu \epsilon \nu$

$с \tau \eta \delta \alpha \rho v \pi \epsilon \rho \kappa \epsilon \phi \alpha \lambda \eta c$ N $N \lambda \eta \ddot{\ddot{\prime} \omega} \ddot{u} \iota \epsilon \rho![\kappa \omega c]$ Nєсторь тоv pa $\mu \alpha \lambda \iota c \tau \alpha \gamma \epsilon \rho о \nu \tau \omega[\nu \tau \iota A \gamma \alpha \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \omega \nu]$ $\tau \omega \iota \mu \nu \nu \epsilon \iota c a \mu \epsilon \nu o c \pi \rho о с \epsilon \phi \omega \nu \in[\epsilon$ Өєьoc ovєєрос]

 $[\omega$ גao८ $\tau \epsilon] \pi \iota \tau \epsilon \tau \rho \alpha[\phi] a \tau \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau о[$ cca $\mu \epsilon \mu \eta \lambda \epsilon]$ $[\nu v \nu \delta \epsilon \mu] \epsilon \theta \epsilon \nu \quad \xi v \nu[\epsilon \epsilon] \omega \kappa \alpha \delta \epsilon \tau о \iota[a \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda о с \epsilon \iota \mu]$ [oc cєv $\alpha \nu] \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \nu \epsilon \omega \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha \kappa \eta \delta \epsilon[\tau \alpha \iota \eta \delta \epsilon \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \alpha \iota \rho \epsilon \iota]$


 $[\alpha \theta \alpha \nu \alpha \tau о \iota ~ \phi] \rho a \zeta о \nu \tau \alpha \iota ~ є \pi \epsilon \gamma \nu \alpha \mu \psi \epsilon \nu \gamma \alpha \rho$ атаעтас

 [a८ $\rho \iota \tau] \omega \in \cup \tau$ av $\subset \in \mu \in \lambda \iota \phi \rho \omega \nu v \pi \nu \circ c \alpha \nu \eta \eta!$ $\omega c ̧ \alpha \rho[\alpha]$ ф $\omega v \eta \subset \alpha<\alpha \pi \epsilon \beta \eta \subset \epsilon \tau \circ$ тоv $\delta \in \lambda \iota \pi$ autov $[\tau \alpha] \phi \rho[o] \nu \epsilon \omega \nu \tau \tau \alpha \alpha$ ouvov a $\rho$ ov $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \subset \theta \alpha \iota \quad \epsilon \mu \in \lambda \lambda_{\epsilon \nu}$




 $\epsilon \zeta \epsilon \tau \circ \delta$ ор $\theta \omega \theta \epsilon \iota c \mu \alpha \lambda \alpha \kappa o[\nu \delta \epsilon \nu \delta \nu \nu \epsilon \chi \iota \tau \omega \nu \alpha]$



 cuv $\tau \omega \epsilon \beta \eta \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \nu \eta \alpha c A[\chi \alpha \iota \omega \nu \chi \alpha \lambda \kappa о \chi \iota \tau \omega \nu \omega \nu]$ $H \omega \subset \mu \epsilon \varphi \rho \alpha \theta \epsilon \alpha \pi \rho о с \epsilon \beta \eta \subset[\epsilon \tau о \mu \alpha \kappa \rho о \nu O \lambda \nu \mu \pi] \sigma \nu$
 [ $\alpha] u \tau \alpha \rho$ о кприкєссь $\lambda \iota \gamma \nu \phi[\theta о \gamma \gamma о \iota \iota \iota ~ к є \lambda \epsilon \cup с \epsilon]$
 o九 $\mu \in \nu$ єкприссо⿱ $\tau$ оь $\delta \eta \gamma[\epsilon \iota \rho о \nu \tau o ~ \mu a \lambda \omega] \kappa \alpha$
$[B] o v \lambda \lambda \delta \epsilon \pi \rho \omega \tau \sigma \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma a \theta v \mu[\omega \nu \iota \zeta \in \gamma \in \rho \circ \nu \tau] \omega \nu$

 $\alpha \mu \beta \rho o[c] \imath \eta v \delta \iota a \nu v \kappa \tau \alpha \mu a \lambda \iota c \tau \alpha \delta \in N \epsilon[c \tau о \rho \iota \delta \iota \omega]$ $[\epsilon \epsilon \delta о с \tau \epsilon \mu] \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \theta о с \tau \epsilon \phi \cup \eta \nu \tau$ а̣ $\gamma \underset{\iota}{ } \iota \tau \alpha \epsilon \omega \kappa \epsilon \iota$


 [ $\omega$ 入aoı $\tau \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \epsilon \tau]$ рафатаı каı тосса $\mu \epsilon \mu \eta \lambda \epsilon$









 $\pi \rho \omega \tau \alpha<\widehat{\delta} \epsilon \gamma \omega \nu \in \pi \epsilon \subset \iota \nu \pi \epsilon \iota \rho \eta \subset о \mu \alpha \iota \eta \quad \theta \epsilon \mu[c \in \subset \tau \iota]$

 $H_{\tau \rho!}$ o $\gamma \varphi \epsilon \epsilon \iota \pi \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \rho \epsilon \zeta \epsilon \tau \circ \tau о \iota \subset \iota \delta \alpha \nu \epsilon \subset \tau \eta$


 'A $\boldsymbol{\gamma} \boldsymbol{\mu} \dot{\epsilon}^{\prime} \mu \nu \quad \nu \quad$ in $\mathrm{L}^{8} \mathrm{~L}^{10} \mathrm{~L}^{18} \mathrm{M}^{14} \mathrm{Mc} \mathrm{VI}^{\mathrm{I}}$.

16 The scribe left a space at the beginning of the line, perhaps for a paragraphus.
$19 \epsilon v \delta o v \tau^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ : the alpha is added by the same hand.
20 vi : Allen vu.
$26 \delta \epsilon \tau o \iota$, instead of $\Delta \iota o c \delta \epsilon \tau o \iota$, is an unnoticed error of the scribe, cf. 63.

$36 \phi \rho[0] \nu \epsilon \stackrel{\circ}{\omega} \nu \tau^{\prime}$ : the correction from $\omega$ to o was done by the same hand.

55 ท̀p $\rho$ úvєтo Pap., vulg.; ảpтúvєтo Allen.
$59 \mu \nu v$ : must be a slip of the pen.
$74 \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} v$ is only in 2747. cúv Allen, codd. For the usage of $\dot{\epsilon} v$ instead of cúv see Blass, Gramm. N.T Gr., p. 13I ; Robertson, Gramm. N.T. Gr., p. 588.

A small strip of papyrus from a roll, containing the upper and lower margins and the beginning of the lines of a complete column. The handwriting is of middle-sized upright uncials of the second century. So far as it extends there are no variants from the text of Allen (Oxford, 1931), with which it has been collated, except in 1. 150 where movable $\nu$ is added to $\stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu$. Across the fibres, presumably on the back. On the other side part of a writing exercise (?).

130
$\delta v с \in о \tau \in \cup \chi \in \alpha \theta[$
$\omega \subset \phi[.] \tau o \pi \alpha \tau \rho o[$
$\kappa \nu \eta \mu[.] \delta \alpha с \mu \in \nu[$
каласарүирєоьс! [
$\delta_{\epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu \alpha v \theta \omega[ }$
$\pi о \iota[..] \lambda o v a c \tau \in \rho \circ \epsilon[$
$\alpha \mu[\ldots] \alpha р \omega \mu о \iota с ь \nu \beta[$
$\chi \alpha \lambda[.$.$] ovavт \alpha \alpha \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon[$
$\kappa \rho \alpha \tau[..] \epsilon \pi \iota \phi \theta \iota \mu \omega[$
$\iota \pi \pi[..] \rho \iota \nu \delta \epsilon \iota \nu \sigma \nu \delta[$
$\epsilon \iota \lambda[. . .]. a \lambda \kappa \iota \mu \alpha \delta o u[$
$\epsilon \gamma \chi \circ \subset \delta$ ои $\chi \in \lambda \epsilon \tau \circ \iota \circ[$
$\beta \rho \iota \theta v_{1} \in \gamma \alpha \subset \tau \iota \beta \alpha \rho o[$
$\pi \alpha \lambda \lambda \epsilon[]. y \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \mu \nu \nu \sigma$
$\pi \eta \lambda \iota a \delta a \mu \in \lambda \iota \eta \nu \tau[$
$\pi \eta \lambda \iota \circ[.] \epsilon \kappa \kappa о \rho и ф \eta[$
$\iota \pi \pi о \cup ธ ฺ \delta a \nu \tau о \mu \epsilon \delta[$
$\tau о \nu \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \chi \iota \lambda \lambda \eta \alpha \rho[$
тьстотатосঠєоьє؟[
$\tau \omega \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \iota \alpha v \tau о \mu \epsilon[$

$\tau о \cup с \epsilon \tau \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu \zeta \epsilon \phi \cup \rho \omega[$
Восконє $\nu \eta \lambda \epsilon \epsilon[$
$\epsilon \nu \delta \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \eta о р \iota \eta \iota c \iota \nu[$
тоขратотทєтьшv[..]... $\varphi \pi \sigma$ [
оска८ $\theta \nu \eta \tau о с \epsilon \omega \nu \in \pi \epsilon \theta$. $\pi \pi о$ [
$\mu \nu \rho \mu \delta о \nu а с \delta \alpha \rho \in \pi о \iota \chi$ ор $є \tau \nu$ [

$\omega \mu о \phi а \gamma о!\tau о \iota с \nu \tau \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho[.] \dot{\phi} \rho \in c \iota[$

..........].c[.]vס[...].[...].. .
...............]ac[

Three fragments preserve parts of five columns, reconstructed on the assumption of 30 or $3^{1}$ lines per column. The appearance of the handwriting and the height (3.5 cm .) of the upper margin of col. ii suggest that the fragments are from a stately roll. The scribe wrote in a stylized upright book hand with contrasted broad and narrow letters. Individual letters vary considerably in breadth, the average $\kappa$ being about four times and the average $\mu$ about five times as broad as the average $\epsilon$. There are small flat tips at the feet of $\lambda$ and at the feet and often at the tops of letters with vertical strokes. Letters worth particular mention are $\xi$, which consists of a curl between two horizontal, inwardly curved, strokes; $\tau$, the horizontal stroke of which has a downward curl at the left end; and $v$, the top of which is a wide shallow cup formed with one stroke.

No exactly parallel hand ${ }^{1}$ can be quoted, but others of this type are those of P. Bodmer 14 (in which, however, $\xi$ has the modern lower-case formation), 2454 (which is more angular and upright), and a Hesiod fragment on parchment (Bartoletti, Aegyptus xxxi (1951), pp. 263-8, which has a slight slope to the right and is more angular). These three hands differ from the present one by having letters of a more nearly uniform breadth.

The scribe uses the paragraphus (a single displaced rough breathing just left of the paragraphus at 1.37 ), the middle and the high dot, and the diaeresis; he fills out lines 23 and 58 with little wedges. At one point he corrects himself or is corrected by another: an $\iota$ is inserted after the article in line 47. An insertion in a second hand is made above line 56 .

A table giving instances of agreements of the papyrus readings with those of the seven principal manuscripts, as collated by Hude in his editio maxima of 1898, follows:


[^0]225 contains Thuc. ii. 90, 5-6. The lacunae are such that the two papyri have only eight letters in common, none of them representing a variant, and no information can be obtained as to the relationship between the two.

The verso presents writing in two hands, one fragment badly damaged and mostly illegible, and the second fragment containing repetitions of the phrase $\pi \iota \tau \tau \alpha ́ \kappa \iota \nu$ (for $\pi \iota \tau \tau \alpha ́ \kappa \iota \nu \nu)$ ё $\chi \omega \nu B \epsilon \rho \iota \nu \iota \kappa \eta \sigma i \alpha c$.

All of col. i is lost except part of a $\nu$ at the end of the first line. The top and the bottom of col. ii and the bottom of col. v are preserved.
Col. ii
90, 2-3
$\epsilon \delta \epsilon \chi о \nu \tau о$ [фоß $\forall \epsilon \epsilon \iota \tau \pi$
$\rho \iota \tau \omega \iota \chi \omega \rho[\iota \omega \iota \epsilon \rho \eta \mu \omega \iota$
5 ovт! $\omega ¢ \epsilon\left[\omega \rho \alpha \alpha \nu \alpha \gamma_{0}\right.$
$\mu[\epsilon$ vovc avтоис ак $\omega \nu$
$\kappa[\alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha<\pi о v \delta \eta \nu \in \mu$
$\beta![\beta a<\alpha c \epsilon \pi \lambda \epsilon \iota \pi \alpha \rho \alpha$
$\tau \eta[\nu \quad \gamma \eta \nu \kappa \alpha \iota$ о $\pi \epsilon \zeta$ ос $\alpha$

5 lines lost (traces of final letters of ll. II-I4)
 90, 4-5
$\pi o v] \tau \in \kappa \alpha \iota \pi \rho \rho[c] \tau \eta[\iota] \gamma \eta \iota$

$\lambda_{\iota c \tau]}$ ало спрєєov єvoc
$\alpha \phi \nu \omega \in \pi \iota c \tau \rho \in \psi \alpha$,
$20 \tau \epsilon \subset]$ тac $\nu a v c \mu \in \tau \omega$
$\pi \eta]$ ¢ọ $\varphi \in \pi \lambda \epsilon \sigma \nu \omega \varsigma \epsilon \iota$
$\chi \in \tau \alpha \chi]$ оис єкастос $\epsilon \pi \iota$

$\eta \lambda \pi \iota \zeta о]$ ․ тасас тас
$\nu \alpha \nu c \alpha \pi o \lambda] \eta \mu \psi \epsilon \subset \theta \alpha!$
$\tau \omega \nu \delta \epsilon \epsilon \nu \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \mu] \epsilon \varphi$
$\tau \imath \nu \epsilon \subset]$ ! $!\pi \epsilon \rho ~ \eta \gamma о ч \nu$
то $v \pi \epsilon \kappa \phi \epsilon]$ ]үovcı то
$\kappa \in \rho а с \tau \omega] \geq$ $\pi \in \lambda о т о \nu$
$30 \nu \eta \iota \omega \omega \nu$ каı $\tau \eta \nu \epsilon$
$\pi \iota c \tau \rho \circ \phi] \eta \nu \in c \tau \eta \varphi$

Col．iii
каı $\dot{\tau}[\omega \nu] \quad y \in[\omega \nu \dot{\tau} \iota \nu \dot{\alpha}$ $\alpha \nu a \delta[o v] \mu \in \nu[o \iota \in \iota \lambda$ коу кєขас．$\mu[\iota \alpha \nu \delta \epsilon$ хо⿱ $\eta \delta \eta$ ．тас $\delta[\epsilon \tau \iota \nu \alpha c$
 $\eta \theta \eta c \alpha[\nu \tau \in c \kappa \alpha \iota \in \pi \epsilon c$ $\beta \alpha \iota \nu o[\nu \tau \epsilon c$ \％vv тоис
$0 \pi[\lambda] 0![c \in \subset \tau \eta \nu \quad \theta a \lambda a c$

$$
\pi o[\tau \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \subset \tau \rho \omega \mu \alpha
$$

Col．iv
$\dot{\epsilon} \tau v \chi \epsilon \dot{\delta} \bar{\circ} \dot{\lambda} \kappa \alpha c$ oр $\mu] \dot{o v}$ са $\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \omega \rho о с \pi] \epsilon \rho \iota \eta \nu$
$45 \quad \eta] a \tau \tau!\kappa \eta$ vavc $\phi \theta a$ саса каı $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi \lambda \epsilon v<\alpha$ $c] a \tau \eta^{\prime} \iota^{\prime} \lambda \epsilon v \kappa \alpha \delta \iota a \iota \delta[\iota \omega$

Col．v
 $\mu \in \nu \alpha \theta \alpha \rho] \operatorname{coc} \tau \epsilon \epsilon \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon[$
$50 \quad \kappa[\alpha \iota a \pi \circ] \epsilon \nu о с \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v[$ $\mu \alpha[\tau о с \epsilon] \nu \beta$ о $\quad$ саитє $\epsilon \subset$ $\epsilon \pi \alpha[v \tau \circ] v \subset$ шриŋсаџ $\overline{o \iota \delta \epsilon}[\delta \iota \alpha] \tau \alpha \ddot{\partial} \pi \alpha \rho \chi o \nu \tau \alpha$ $\alpha \mu \alpha \rho \tau \eta \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ кац $\tau \eta \nu$
$55 \pi \alpha \rho о \cup с \alpha \nu$ a $\tau \alpha \xi \iota \alpha \nu$
odıүov $\mu \epsilon \nu$＇$\tau \iota v \alpha^{\prime} \chi \rho \circ \nu o \nu$ v $\pi \epsilon \mu[\epsilon \ell]$ y $\alpha \nu \quad \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha$ $\delta \in \in \tau \rho a \pi]$ ov $\tau \circ \in \subset \tau \circ>$ $\pi \alpha \nu о \rho \mu о\rceil$ о $\theta \epsilon \nu \pi \epsilon \rho$
60


6 aủroùc om． E 28 ข́ $\pi \epsilon \kappa \phi \in \cup ̛ \gamma o u c i \nu \mathrm{CG}$
 29 Пєлопо⿱亠䒑ci $\omega \nu \mathrm{C}$

25 a่то入ท́ $\psi \epsilon \subset \theta a \iota$ MSS．
35 єi入ov ABEFM

$$
c \alpha[\nu \kappa \alpha \iota \in \pi \iota \beta \alpha \nu \tau \in c \quad \alpha
$$

$27 \tau \iota \nu \epsilon c$ om．ABEFGM
37 Mecŕpıo七 EFG om. MSS. The erudition if not the correctness of the insertion, made in a second hand, is attested


[Addendum: During final cleaning by W. E. H. Cockle before photograpliy some additional traces of ink have been brought out. When indeterminate they have not been noted. In col. ii, l. 12 clearly ends in $] a$; the traces at the ends of $10,11,13$ may be $] \omega,] \epsilon$, ] respectively. In col. iii traces of $a$ in the line below 47 might justify $[\kappa$ оис $\eta \iota \epsilon \mu \beta] a[\lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon]$.]

## 2750. Xenophon, Cyropaedia I, I

## $8.0 \times 14.2 \mathrm{~cm}$. Later second century

The upper part of one column from a papyrus roll. Opposite the last lines are the fragmentary first letters of 5 lines of the next column. The text is written on the recto, and the hand is another example of the early Biblical uncial style ${ }^{1}$ similar to, e.g., 661 (Callimachus, Iambi), and may similarly be dated around the latter part of the second century A.D. It is very similar to 2101, and Professor E. G. Turner in fact suggests that this papyrus may well belong to the same roll, the slightly larger size of the handwriting being accounted for by this column's being the first in the roll. Occasional accents, breathings, stops, a mark of elision, and two interlinear readings have been added, at least partly by a different hand.

[^1]$\epsilon \nu v o l a \pi] 00^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mu \mu \nu \quad \epsilon \gamma[\epsilon \nu] \epsilon \tau \circ$
[осаı $\delta \eta \mu]$ ократєаь к[aq] $] \lambda v$
[ $\theta \eta<\alpha \nu v] \pi o \tau \omega \nu \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda \omega c \pi \omega c$

Oaı $\mu a \lambda \lambda] o \nu . \eta \epsilon \nu \delta \eta \mu о к р а$
$\geqslant n$

$[\tau \alpha \iota ~ \eta \delta \eta \nu] \pi о \quad \delta \eta \mu \omega \nu$ ка! о
$[\operatorname{co\iota } \tau v \rho \alpha \nu] \nu \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \in \pi \iota \chi \epsilon \rho \eta$ ?

$\left[\begin{array}{c}\text { [ } \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon c \\ 0]!\end{array} \dot{\mu} \in \nu\right.$ avt $\omega \nu[\kappa] a \iota$
[ $\tau \alpha \chi v \pi \alpha \mu] \pi \alpha \nu ~ к а \tau \epsilon \lambda \cup \theta \eta \imath$
$[c a \nu$ o九 $\delta \epsilon]$ кал ò óтосоソoûv
[xpovov ap] Xovтєc $\delta \iota[$.$] ...ov$
[ $\tau \alpha \iota$ Өavpa]క̧oyтaı $\omega$ ç co>
[фо८ $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha \iota \epsilon] v \tau v \chi \epsilon \iota \subset[a] v \delta \rho \epsilon \subset$
[ $\gamma \in \gamma \in \nu \eta] \mu \in \nu o \iota \cdot \pi о \lambda \lambda о \cup с$
$[\delta \epsilon \delta о к о v \mu] \epsilon \varphi$ к катацє $\mu \alpha$
$[\theta \eta к є \nu а \iota ~ к а \iota] ~ \epsilon[\nu]!\delta!!\rho[\iota]$ с оі́коис.
$[$ rovc $\mu \epsilon v \in \chi о \nu \tau а с к а] \iota \pi \lambda \epsilon \iota$
[ovac oıкєтас тovc] $\delta \in \kappa \alpha$
[. $\pi a v v$ одıүоис кає он] $\frac{1}{}$ с ov
[ $\delta \epsilon$ тоис одєүоис тоутоוс] $\pi \alpha$
[ $\nu v \tau \iota$ ठvvapєvouc хрŋс $\theta a]!\rangle$


I On the shape of the spiritus asper, cf. V. Gardhausen, Griechische Palaeographie i (IgII), p. 385.

6-7 aunp $\eta$ Y: [ $\alpha a \iota$ pap. ${ }^{2}$ : in agreement with MSS.
9 The dash on the $\mu$ probably is the gravis belonging to either oo or $\mu \in \nu$.
9-10 каi тахı̀ тá $\mu \pi a \nu$ pap. y z correctly, Gemoll, March.: тахѝ тá $\mu \pi a \nu ~ к а i ́ ~ x ~: ~ к а i ́ o m . ~ V a t . ~ 987, ~$ flattened.

 preceding interlinear correction) makes it probable that the $\nu$ of the original text is that following after o (x). The space between $\delta \iota$ and ov ( $\epsilon \nu$ definitely cannot be read) will not accommodate x's reading without supposing an omission. For agreement between correction and y, cf., e.g., 2101 ito, 161; 697 25, 55, 77 ; Pack ${ }^{2}$, 1551, 11. 171, 216 -17 (scholion), 218.

18 кai pap. MSS. Gemoll, March.: del. Hartman (Analecta Xenophontea Nova (1889), pp. 125-6) without reason. Cf. Denniston, Gk. Particles, p. 318. It is emphatic rather than corresponsive, as F. K. Hertlein-W. Nitsche ${ }^{4}$, 1886, and L. Breitenbach-B. Büchsenschütz ${ }^{4}$, 1890, take it.

I9 The division of the diphthong $\kappa \alpha /[\iota]$ is so odd that the possibility of $\mathbf{2 7 5 0}$ 's having had $\kappa \alpha /[\nu]$ must be considered.
$23 \pi \epsilon \iota$ ©opévouc F G, om. cett., wrongly, as it contains the point of the whole clause. It is possible that pap. omitted it, in which case the line would read [rove $\delta \epsilon \subset \pi о \tau a c \in \tau \iota] \delta \epsilon$. It seems in any case certain that pap. does not support Hartman's deletion of toù $\delta \in \subset \pi o ́ \tau a c$ (Gemoll attributes the deletion to Hirschig). True, they constitute an anacolouthon after the opening roddoúc, but are understandable on account of the intervening каi ( $\left.{ }_{\circ} \mu \omega \boldsymbol{\mu}\right)$ and, in fact, pointedly stress the contrast between official authority and actual inefficiency.

As regards the word-division at the end of the line as printed above, cf., e.g., Pack ${ }^{2}$ I551, ll. 172-3 ( $=$ P. Rainer VI pp. 8I seqq.).

## 2751. Plato, Republic III

Fr. D $15.0 \times 15.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. Late second or early third century
Five fragments of a fine copy of the Republic of Plato. The complete lines in fr. D col. ii contain 18, r9, or 20 letters, sometimes only 16, i.e. i8 on average. According to standard texts, the gap between col. i and col. ii needs 145 letters, which make 8 lines of 18 letters. In fact 5 of these 8 lines are found in Frag. E, and come at the head of the column of which the lower part is in D col. ii, giving ${ }_{27}$ lines per column. On the verso a magical amulet (2753) was written afterwards.

In 2751 the small $o$, the $\omega$ with characteristically flat base, $\xi$ with two somewhat curved strokes and the middle connection like the sign of aspiration closed only to the lower stroke, may indicate early third century, but late second century is probable (cf. 1016, 223, Roberts, Gr. Literary Hands, p. 20).

The scribe of this papyrus is skilful. His script is of the oval type, regular and graceful, upright, and rather above medium size. The broad $\mu$ with curved middle, broad and shallow in upper part, broad $\pi$ without emerging strokes, the curved $v$ with three equal strokes, and the regular space between the letters are characteristics common between our papyrus and 1017 (Plato, Phaedrus). But the case for identity between the two scribes is not strong.

Punctuation is as in 1016, 1017. Alternations of the dialogue are, as usual, marked by double dots (A 4, B 3, D ii 15 ; wrongly omitted at D ii 14 ), ${ }^{\text {r }}$ accompanied sometimes by paragraphi (D ii $5,6,14,15,18,19$ ) under the line. A high stop is used (D ii ${ }_{7}, 19$ ). The $\nu$ at the end of the line may be written as a stroke over the preceding vowel ( $\left.\mathrm{B}_{2}, \mathrm{D}_{2}\right)$. There is no evidence of a second hand. The correction of reading ( $\mathrm{B}_{4}$ ) is by the original hand. The text is interesting mainly for sharing the reading of $\mathrm{F} \delta \delta^{\prime} \xi \omega \gamma^{\prime}$ coc at 4 r 4 c 9 against the other manuscripts. The scribe writes
 Oxford text, but the apparatus has been corrected from that of E. Chambry, Paris 1943.
${ }^{\text {r }}$ The oblique stroke in the left-hand margin may be intended to draw attention to this omission.

| [. .]cло入ী $\epsilon \omega c .[$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
| [.. ]atovтovo[ |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |
| ..].такаıєаv[ |  | [ $\tau \mathfrak{a}$ a] |
| [.....]ıстаєкєч¢[ |  |  |
| [.....] ттоутос $^{\text {c }}$ |  |  |
| $\xi \nu \mu \beta$ аıvєıలка |  | сицßаiveıv ка[i ¢́av-] |
|  |  |  |

 A; ö̃ $\mu$ ádıcтa Stob. The number of letters lost at the beginning of 1.8 is more likely to be 5 than 6 , and the restoration [oँ $\tau \boldsymbol{l}$ ] is preferable 412 d 6 oioıт A M Stob., most editors; oióv $\tau \in \hat{\alpha}$ F ; oiov qò D ; oïqтaı Bekker

Fr. B

413 d I

$$
\begin{aligned}
& ] \tau \epsilon o \nu \cdot \tau o \quad[\pi a ́ \tau \eta \tau о \nu \text { є́ } \gamma \kappa \rho \iota] \tau \in ́ \sigma \nu \cdot \tau \grave{o}(\nu)
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& ] \tau^{\Gamma} \epsilon\left[\quad[\nu a i ́: ~ к a i ̀ \pi o ́ v o v c] ~ \tau^{\top} \Gamma^{\prime} \epsilon[a \hat{v} \kappa \alpha i]\right.
\end{aligned}
$$

Fr. B 413 d 4 : the correction ' $\gamma$ ' for $\tau \epsilon$ is by the same scribe. $\tau \in$ Stob., $\gamma \in$ ceteri

Fr. D, col. i

5

IO

[каi $\left.\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \alpha{ }^{\prime} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \mu \nu \eta\right] \mu \in i \varphi \varphi[\nu]$
[ $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \subset \tau \alpha$ $\gamma \in ́ \rho \alpha] \lambda \alpha \gamma \chi \alpha ́ \nu o(\nu)-$
$[\tau \alpha \cdot \tau \grave{\partial} \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu \dot{\eta} \tau о \iota \circ \hat{v}] \tau о \nu \dot{\alpha}^{-}$

$\left[\hat{\eta} \nu \delta^{\prime} \in \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\prime}, \delta о к \epsilon \hat{\imath} \mu о\right] \iota, ~ \hat{\omega} \Gamma \lambda \alpha v^{-}$


$[\tau \omega \nu \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \phi \nu] \lambda \alpha ́ \kappa \omega \nu,[\dot{\omega} c]$
$[\hat{\epsilon} v \tau v \dot{v} \pi \omega, \mu] \dot{\eta} \delta \iota_{\imath}^{\prime} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \kappa \rho \iota[\beta \in i ́ a c]$
[ $\lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$ тои́тоvc] $\mu \stackrel{\varrho}{\mu} \nu \phi$ v́ $\lambda \alpha-$
$[\kappa \alpha \subset \pi \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon] \stackrel{\imath c}{\subset} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \not \epsilon^{\prime \prime}-$
$[\xi \omega \theta \in \nu \pi] \quad \lambda_{\epsilon} \mu i \omega \omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$


[ $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \mu \grave{\eta}] \delta v \nu \eta \dot{\text { соита̣я какоир- }}$


Fr. D, Io seqq. The papyrus where lines ro-I2 should be is mutilated $\quad 414$ a $5 \hat{\omega}$ Г $\lambda \alpha$ úк $\omega \nu$,
 notes, ' $\omega$ ex o ut videtur fecit F '

Fr. E
414 b 5

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \delta[.] . .[\quad \delta[\grave{\eta}] ~ \varphi ̣ ̂ ̣[\nu \quad \text { фи́лакас є’ка-] }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \kappa \alpha\left[\quad \kappa \alpha \left[\grave{i} \beta о \eta \theta_{\text {oùc } \tau о \hat{c} с}^{\tau \hat{\omega} \nu} \dot{\alpha} \rho-\right.\right. \\
& \chi[\quad \chi[o ́ v \tau \omega \nu \delta o ́ \gamma \mu a c \iota v ; \text { ё } \mu o \iota-] \\
& 5 \quad .[\quad \gamma[\epsilon \delta \circ \kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath}, \epsilon ้ \phi \eta \text {. Tíc } \ddot{\alpha} \nu \text { ô̂v] }
\end{aligned}
$$

Fr. E. This tiny fragment belongs at the head of column ii of fragment D 4 I $4 \mathrm{~b} 5: v \hat{v} \nu \delta \dot{\eta} \mathrm{FD}$

Fr．D，col．ii
［．．．．．．．．．．］$]$ еqva $[$
єч $\psi[\ldots . .$.$] ．$ $\mu а \lambda![\ldots .$.$] ．．．$ тоv［．．．．］$\}$ тасєє $\delta ¢ \mu \eta$

5
 касьขєфп $\mu \omega$［ ［．．．］ov［．．．］．［
 ｜$\pi \epsilon$ Өоисшсєожасєф $\eta$
${ }^{15}$ окขovvт $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \epsilon \nu$ ：$\delta о$
$\xi \omega \gamma \epsilon \epsilon о \nsupseteq \nu \delta \epsilon \gamma \omega \kappa а \mu \mu \lambda[$
 є！ $\mathbb{T}[\ldots . .] \$.[.]. a \mu \mu \eta \phi o$
вог［．．．］$] \delta \eta$ ккаито！оvк



 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \stackrel{\alpha}{\alpha} \lambda[\lambda] \eta \nu \pi o ́ \lambda e v:$ Поôọ́v

 кóv $\tau \iota, \pi \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu \mu \grave{\nu} \nu$ グठ $\eta$
 cı oi тоэŋтаі каі $\pi[\epsilon \pi \epsilon i-$




 c 8





 $\delta o ́ \xi \omega \delta \epsilon ́$ co九 all editors，$\delta o ́ \xi \omega \gamma \epsilon \epsilon$ col F only．The particle $\gamma \epsilon$ may be defended as giving seriousness to the usual humorous colloquial emphasis кai $\mu \dot{a} \lambda^{\prime}$ ．Cf．Campbell，Plato＇s Republ．II（1894），pp． 203 seq．，Smyth，Gr．Gram．$\S \S 2769$ seqq．，Denniston，The Greek Particles，pp． 122 seq．For $\delta \in$ ，agreed upon by the standard texts，an inceptive marking a contrast with the preceding speech，cf．Dennis－ ton，l．c．，p． $172 \mu \dot{\alpha} \lambda_{\mathrm{L}}[a$ ：the mutilated part allows space for a letter a written in scriptio plena

# IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS 

## 2752. Shorthand Commentary

$7.5 \times 19 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Second century
A fragment containing the beginnings of lines from the top of a column, with the end of the first line of the preceding column, from a version of the shorthand Commentary; written across the fibres in a rounded semi-cursive hand. The text is arranged in tetrads with the signs (without tetradic finals) on the left below the main elements in the usual manner (cf. Milne, Greek Shorthand Manuals), but is from a nonextant version of the Commentary.

The recto contains parts of twenty-two lines from the top of a column of a docu-
 The lapse of time between use of the recto and verso is uncertain (cf. Turner, JEA xl (1954), pp. 102 seqq.), but the hand of the latter is at any rate second-century. If the uncertain fragment P. Harris ${ }_{5 I}$ is set aside, it provides the earliest text yet published of the Commentary, and may rank as the oldest evidence of Greek shorthand (cf. Coles, 'Reports of Proceedings in Papyri' (Papyrologica Bruxellensia iv (1966)), pp. 14-15).

No attempt has been made to reproduce the signs, for which the reader is referred to the plate at the end of the volume.

Verso
Col. i
] $\mu \in \omega \bar{c}$

5

10

15

20

25


Col. ii
$\kappa а Ө$ av $\eta[\pi о \tau \epsilon \tau \rho о \pi о \nu$
vice [
$\alpha \mu \eta[$
кад. .
Eocc[
єсєс $\theta a[\iota$
скор[
$\pi \circ \lambda[$
$\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \mu[$
$a \tau \mu[$
$\delta \iota \eta \nu \in \cup \kappa \kappa$
!... [
$\beta a \pi{ }^{[ }$
$\nu \epsilon[$
$\pi \epsilon \tau a[$
]. . . $\nu \tau \rho \circ \pi \circ \nu[$
ท...
$\eta \mu c$
$\eta .$. .
$\eta$.[
]. eur. .
] $\nu \chi \rho$.
$[$
$[$
ii $2 \dot{v}$ pap. $\quad 9$ First $\epsilon$ appears to have been added afterwards; $i$ pap. ${ }_{17}, 19,20$ After $\eta, \lambda$ or $\mu$
2753. Magical Spells

Fr. D $15.0 \times 15.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. Fourth century
The papyrus, on which 2751 was written, was cut in smaller pieces. On the verso of these pieces a magical text was written across the fibres. The verso of A is blank. We know from the recto text that Fr. E is to be placed in the same column, and above Fr. D; there are 5 lines lost between them. The handwriting on these fragments is the same, but their damaged state does not permit judgement as to whether one charm or two charms are represented. There are remains of a previous column written on the left of Fr. D. Since some lines in E can be restored from PGM II vii 226-30 and since D is to be restored from PGM II vii $23 \mathrm{I}^{1-41}$, P. Lond. i $12 \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{p}$. 91 . $230-46$, continuity as a single charm becomes possible between E and D. Fr. C could be restored from PGM iI i 58-6I, P. Lond. i i21, 537-9, and therefore may also be a charm. We may believe that the remains of the column preceding D also deal with magic.
Fr. E

$$
\begin{aligned}
& ] \epsilon ่ \pi i \tau[o ̂ ̀ ~ \lambda u ́ \chi u o v \\
& \text { ]. } \varphi \in \lambda \lambda \varphi[
\end{aligned}
$$

$\chi \in i ́ \rho a ́ v ~ c] o u ~[\kappa a i ~ c \chi \epsilon \delta o ́ v ~ c o v ~ \epsilon ́ \gamma \rho \eta \gamma o \rho o u ̂ v \tau o c ~$


Fr. D
$\dot{\epsilon} \mu$ ?]] $\mu[\alpha \hat{\xi} \eta c \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \quad \zeta \omega \gamma p a \phi i ́ a \nu \tau \hat{\omega}$ 'Icıaк $\hat{\varphi} \mu \in ́ \lambda \alpha \nu l]$








$\chi ข \rho(o \dot{\nu}) B[\eta<\hat{\alpha} \nu \dot{\alpha} \mu \beta \lambda \nu \omega \pi o ́ v$. cù $\epsilon \hat{i}$ ó $\epsilon \pi i$ сор $\hat{\varphi} \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha-]$




15 каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \bar{\lambda} \kappa \alpha i \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \rho \bar{\delta} \overline{i \epsilon \epsilon p a ́ к \kappa \omega \nu ~ ' \kappa а і ̈ ' ~ т ~} \hat{\omega}[\nu \pi \rho o ̀ c ~ \kappa \epsilon-]$

[ $\pi \nu \circ$ oúv $\tau \omega \nu$

Fr. E $] \epsilon \in \pi i \tau\left[o \hat{v} \lambda u ́ \chi \nu o v\right.$ as in $D_{4}$ ? If so, perhaps cf. PGM II vii 226. 2 ? $\tau]$ ồ $\bar{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda u[\chi \nu i o u$.
Fr. D 3 vi $\delta \omega \rho$ ö $\mu \beta \rho \iota \mu о \nu$ : see P. Lond. i $121,224-6$. The headless god says about himself that he is iठן $\dot{c}$ ö $\mu \beta \rho \circ$ ( $B C H$ xxxviii (1914), p. 197), in P. Lond. i 46, I52, p. 70.

5 The god whose power is asked for is the $\dot{\alpha} \kappa є ́ \phi$ адос $\theta$ єóc who was usually asked for aggressive magic. His function is described in the Testament of Solomon (ed. C. C. McCown, Leipzig, 1922) where in 9, I he is Phonos (= slaughter), cf. A. Delatte, 'Études sur magie grecque', in BCH xxxviii (I914), pp. I89 seqq.; K. Preisendanz, 'Akephalos, der kopflose Gott', in Beihefte zum alten Orient vii (Leipzig, 1926) ; Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets (Chicago, 1950), pp. 58, 110-11, 164-6, et passim; PGM II vii $230-49$, viii $65^{-110}$; P. Lond. i 121 , pp. 92, 222-71. This god is usually described as tòv є̇mi roîc
 is entirely uncertain ; perhaps the shorter formula without кєфа入ウ̀v каi should be restored in 5 and 9 .
$9^{-10}$ Restored to follow 8. In the beginning of 10 , there is either $\chi \alpha \rho$ or $\chi v \rho$. It is likely to con-
 i 46,18 ), two names used in addressing the headless god.

12 The usual form is $\rho \rho \eta \tau i \nu \eta с$ каi $\dot{\alpha} с \phi \dot{\alpha} \lambda \tau о v$, PGM II vii 237, viii 99.

 ibid. viii 100.
 vii 100 . Osiris, as is known, was beheaded by Set-Typhon who was also beheaded (cf. Bonner, l.c., p. 165). This may interpret the relation between the headless god and Osiris. This relation is clear in


Fr. B
$]$ по
$] . v \subset$
$] \nu$

Fr. C
$\kappa] a i{ }_{\alpha} \pi^{\prime} \dot{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho[с i ́ a c$
] є́mi тov̂ $\lambda$ ú $\chi$ ㅁov
ò $]$ ] $\mu \epsilon ́ \lambda a c \quad \pi .[$

## V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

## 2754. Edict Concerning Legal Procedure <br> $25 \times 22.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.

A.D. III

This well-preserved sheet of papyrus contains a series of somewhat disjointed injunctions, mostly concerning matters of legal procedure, clearly from a prefectural edict. The text begins without any form of prescript (though it is of course possible that there was a preceding column), and it may be that it is a précis of the edict or simply preserves extracts from it (that only one edict is concerned is suggested by the last line). The prefect will have been Sulpicius Similis.

It is of course possible that $\pi \rho o \tau \epsilon \ominus \eta^{\prime} \tau \omega$ (1. 13) was copied along with the last set of instructions, thus referring only to that, when this series of extracts was made. The provisions in fact split up into four sections, namely lines $\mathbf{1}-5,5-7,7-8$, and $8-\mathbf{I}_{3}$; and it is between these sections that asyndeton occurs. The three last (1l. 5-13) deal with judicial procedure with regard to the conventus, the first (ll. $1-5$ ) with administrative matters which might also come within the scope of the conventus. It may be that what we have comes from a specific set of provisions issued to regulate proceedings at a coming conventus. Since we have the date Pharmouthi $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{i}}$ in 1 . $\mathrm{I}_{3}$, this could not be earlier than that in Alexandria in June-August, if the dates suggested by Wilcken (Archiv iv 415 seqq.) are right. Possibly the fragmentary BGU 288 is relevant also.

The text is written in a spiky semi-cursive ; there is a wide lower margin of $\mathrm{I}_{3}$ cm . The verso is blank.



 малєкой









 from $v$ ? First $\tau$ of $\pi \rho o \tau \epsilon \theta \epsilon \in \tau \tau \nu$ corr. (from $\theta$ ?) II Correct to vouóv, see commentary
'The village-secretaries are to present under oath the names of those who are infirm or who wish to be released on other grounds, with the strategus supervising. It will be no monetary penalty that those will suffer who assume feigned names, abusing the clemency of the most manifest of gods, the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. Those concerned in the petitions and wishing to defer the case will have no excuse, having known long ago the time fixed for the conventus. I absolutely prohibit the receiving of bribes, not now for the first time forbidding this evil. Let those who have obtained friends of the prefect on a previous occasion as judges and who have not yet had their cases settled petition Julius Maximus, archistator and friend, the others to the . . . [see note on IO-12]. If anyone of those whose names have been posted at the termination of the conventus has not already obtained a hearing, he will be able to be judged before the nome-strategus. But should the judges be responsible for the delay, I will detain them until they settle the cases. Let this be publicly displayed. The 14 th year, Pharmouthi I.'

I-2 For infirmity of one kind or another as a claim for dispensation from liturgies, cf. P. Flor. 312, 5; $382(=57)$, 63 ; PSI IIo3, 14; and 889 I8; perhaps also P. Fay. 106. Oertel, Die Liturgie, p. 390, n. 5; Reinmuth, The Prefect of Egypt, pp. 20-1 ; Lewis, Alti Milano, 518-21.

3 Perhaps the sentence should run ov 〈นóvov〉 хрұ $\mu a \tau \iota \kappa \eta$ й ?
8 фidouc $\dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ оикои́c: does this mean the officials to whom the prefect delegated cases? (One might note M. Chr. 372 iv 13, and 7066 ; but the фidoc there are legal advisers, not actual judges as in the present text.)

9-10 On the archistator see Gilliam, $C P$ lvi (1g6r), pp. roo-3.
Io-12 oi $\delta^{\prime} a ̈ \lambda \lambda$ oı $\kappa \tau \lambda$. There must be some corruption here (apart from writing errors, for which see the app. crit. : perhaps indicative of confusion?). тov́c (l. IO) needs a complement. The simplest

 would not be difficult. This emendation points out the difference between the fact that there are cases still unsettled from a previous conventus and the intention that no cases should continue unsettled after the coming conventus. For oi $\pi \rho \circ \tau \epsilon \theta \in \in \nu \tau \epsilon \subset$ cf., e.g., P. Hamb. 29, 3-4. The apparent
 tion of any directive from the prefect, is perhaps to be explained by abridgement in making the present text ; the clause is tantamount to a general delegation. The strategi are presumably to take action in the nomes rather than at the conventus-centre.
2755. Edict of Caracalla

$$
8.4 \times 1 \mathrm{I} \cdot 6 \mathrm{~cm} .
$$

Third century
Twelve lines, broken on all sides, identified as another text of the second edict of Caracalla preserved in the well-known P. Giss. 40 ( $\mathbf{c o l}$. ii $1-15$ ). The present papyrus contains about a third of the edict proper. In a few places its text differs from or serves to restore the reading of P. Giss. 40. A second hand has added some alterations, sometimes changing to the Giessen version where the first hand had written otherwise but sometimes diverging from it when the first hand already had it.

The text is written along the fibres in an official hand not unlike that of P. Giss. 40 but somewhat lighter; the alterations are in a heavier slanting hand. The verso is blank.


```
    а̇\pi]офа́сє\omegaс єic \tauò \delta\iotaакатє́\chi\epsilon\iotav [
```



```
    ] \pi\rhoòc \chi\rhoóvov к\omega|\lambdav0\epsiloníci`\nu' \mu\in\tau\grave{\alpha}\tau[ò
```

$4 \nu$ of $\kappa \omega \lambda \nu \theta \epsilon i c i v^{\prime}$ ' added by second hand $9 \ddot{u} \pi \sigma-$ pap. II After $\gamma \hat{\eta} \nu$ a high stroke of ink I2 iva pap. $\delta a v$ written in rather messy fashion There are two spots of ink below the end of this line. They are too high up to be from the line below : they may, however, be from an alteration to that line

I Only the feet of letters of this line remain. $\dot{a} \pi o \delta \delta \delta \omega \mu$ can be read with some certainty, but before ay the traces are vague. However, they can perhaps be interpreted as $] \times \eta \kappa[0] \leqslant \varphi!$.
 following $\tau$. P. Giss. 40 at this point (ii 3) was read as .[.....]катє́ $\chi \in \nu$. From the plate the papyrus seems to have $\epsilon[$, and there is a trace before $] \kappa$ which could be from the tail of an alpha. The other letters could just be fitted into the lacuna.

3 тoútoı тoìc $\mu \in \tau$ á:cf. $11.3-4$ in P. Giss. 40 ii. At the end of 1.3 the Giessen papyrus was read as

 ed. pr., p. 35)? (So already Schubart and Gradenwitz, ZSS xxxvi (1915), p. 425 ( $B L$ i 462 ).)

6 Neither reading nor implication of the first alteration is clear. Both attempts to correct $\pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \eta \mathrm{c}$ seem to be by the second hand. The combination of readings suggests that $\pi \hat{\omega} c \pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \eta$ of the Giessen text was the reading intended.

Appended is a revised text of the edict from 1. 3 of the Giessen version; underlining indicates the overlaps of P. Giss. 40 ii with the new fragment.









2756. Declaration concerning Residence in Alexandria

Sworn declaration to an amphodarch (r note) from a father that his son is temporarily resident in Alexandria. The information was required by an order of the prefect, no doubt on account of the poll-tax : see 11. 13 seqq. The lower part of the text is missing.

A particular point of interest supplied by the papyrus is the establishment of the correct nomen of the prefect C. Aeternius Fronto (Stein, Die Präfekten, p. 39) and the confirmation of his altered dating (8 note).

I am indebted to Professor Youtie for advice on this text.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \dot{\alpha}] \mu \phi o \delta \alpha ́ \rho \chi[\eta]
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [тарà Nıкá] עорос то̂̂ C } \omega с \tau \rho a ́ \tau о v \text { [каi] } \\
& \text { [..].[..]aтọc } \mu \eta \tau \rho o ̀ c ~ \Theta a \iota c \hat{a ̂ \tau o c ~[\tau \hat{c} c] ~} \\
& \Pi_{\tau о \lambda \epsilon \mu \alpha i ́ o v ~}^{\alpha} \mu \phi о \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu \tau \widehat{\omega}[\nu] \\
& \left.\dot{\alpha}^{\prime} \pi^{\prime} O \xi \nu \rho \hat{\gamma}^{\prime} \gamma \chi\right] \omega \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega[c] . \pi \rho o ̀ c ~ \tau \grave{\alpha}[\tau \alpha \chi-]
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Aiт } \epsilon \rho \nu i[o] v \text { Ф } \rho^{\prime} \nu \tau \omega \nu \text { ос } \pi \epsilon \rho i \tau \bar{\omega} \nu
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \epsilon ่ \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota \dot{v} \phi^{\prime} \hat{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{v} \pi \epsilon ฺ \rho \\
& \text { тô̂ } N[\iota] \kappa \alpha ́ y o \rho o c ~ v i o u ̂ ~ ' I c i \delta \omega ́ \rho o v ~ \gamma \epsilon \rho \delta i '[o v] ~
\end{aligned}
$$

> เo l. $\dot{\mu} \mu \omega \bar{\omega} \nu$
> 13-14 l. גaoppadiac
'To . . ., amphodarch of the Avenue of Thoeris, from Nicanor, son of Sostratos, and . . ., her mother being Thaisas daughter of Ptolemaeus, both of the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In response to the orders of the lord prefect Aeternius Fronto concerning those sojourning in Alexandria, questioned by you concerning Isidorus, the son of Nicanor, weaver, we declare that he is sojourning in Alexandria and is in the official list of poll-tax payers for the present eleventh year of the Emperor Vespasian Augustus in the same quarter of the Avenue of Thoeris; and we swear by the Emperor Caesar ...

I It is not absolutely certain that this is the top line of the document; thus there may have been other addressees before the amphodarch (Io note). $\dot{a}] \mu \phi \circ \delta \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi[\eta$ : apparently the only appearance of this official so far in Oxyrhynchus. Note, however, $25722,21866$.
 Perhaps we have here the wife of Nicanor, perhaps à ád $\tau \omega \rho$ and so identified through her mother and grandfather, as the most likely identification of the second declarant.
${ }^{6-7}\left[\right.$ [rax] $\theta^{\prime}$ voa: the supplement at the end of 6 can hardly have been much longer, so that [ $\pi \rho о с т a \chi] \theta$ évza or $[\kappa \in \lambda \epsilon v c] \theta \in ́ v \tau a$ must be excluded.
 palaeographically close to (the apparent) Airepviou of the Froehner vase (Robert, Collection Froehner i 119, no. $75 ;=A E$ 1937, p. 236) which is supported by Codex C (Urbinas) of Josephus, Bell. Iud. vi 4, 3. Aeternius is the reading in the Latin version of Bell. Iud., to which the variants in the other leading MSS. are closer. As regards his date, év $\delta \epsilon \epsilon \kappa[$ darov $]$ in I4 supports Pflaum's revision of the Froehner vase inscription (Latomus x (1951), p. 473); Övectaccavov̂ has therefore been supplied in 1. I5.

Io $\grave{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ : the first letter is broken but does not appear to be $u$.
${ }^{13-14}$ Perhaps read $\left.\lambda a 0-\right] /\{a\} \gamma \rho a \phi i a c$ ? The present text, if correctly restored, enables a reassessment to be made of the phrase $\dot{\rho} \mu \mathrm{o} \mathrm{\lambda( } \mathrm{)} \mathrm{\lambda ao} \mathrm{\gamma p( } \mathrm{)} \mathrm{(see}, \mathrm{e.g.}, \mathrm{Wessely} ,\mathrm{SPPi} \mathrm{io;} \mathbf{4 7 8} 22$ note; P. Ryl. 209, Io note ; and Van Groningen, Mreem. N.S. 1 (1922), pp. 124-37). In all the examples noted of these words in connection, both are abbreviated, except in $47822-3, \delta_{1}^{\prime}$ ' opodórov גaoypapiac, where the double genitive is ambiguous for purposes of analysis. It now appears that óoòóyou should be treated as a noun, since in $2756{ }_{\epsilon}{ }^{\prime} v$ implies a dative, which will then have been followed by a genitive. P. Wisc.


I6 $\alpha \dot{v} \tau[0 \hat{v}$ : for the form of $\tau$, cf. the first $\tau$ of Аѝтокра́торос in I5.

## 2757. Extracts from Prefectorial Records

$20 \times 12 \mathrm{~cm}$.
post A D. 79
The name of the prefect of the summer of A.D. 70 (see 2349) is illuminated by this papyrus, which has been cited in the latest list of prefects (BASP iv 4, pp. 83 seq.). The piece has the top margin and parts of two columns numbered $\iota \epsilon$ and $\iota[5$, and
 Kó $\lambda \omega \nu$ ос is genitive is further confirmed by line 5 , ending $\Pi \epsilon \delta о v к а і$ ос $K o ́ \lambda \omega \nu$, where the
 Ko $\lambda \omega \varphi[$. It was first reported as Ko $\alpha \omega \mu$. . . (Stein, Die Präf., p. 39), then corrected to


Colo is attested, once and not without doubt, as a nomen, see Schulze, Gesch. lat. Eigenn., pp. 295, 313 (CIL viii 15472), but the Latin colomus is rendered by кód $\omega \nu$, e.g. in $24763^{2}, 48$. Consequently the Latin form of this man's cognomen is still in some doubt, but the Greek one is certainly Kód $\omega \nu$ here and probably the same in 234926. Colonus as a Roman name has only two dubious attestations, one an inscription, where
a woman's name may be Colona P.f. Maxima (Schulze, op. cit., p. 295), though the copies differ seriously ( $C I L$ v 3361 ), and the other Pliny, Ep. ix, 9 , where the recipient's name is given in the $a$ family of manuscripts as Colono but in the rest as Coloni. ${ }^{1}$ Here Colono is accepted by the editors and by Syme (JRS lviii (1968), p. 147).

Each column contains a decision of the prefect named in the heading, preceded by the date of delivery, the names of the litigants, and the introductory phrase $\epsilon \kappa \tau \omega \nu$ $\dot{\rho} \eta \theta^{\prime} \dot{\varepsilon} \tau \tau \nu$. Though the subjects of the two decisions are not absolutely clear because of the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it seems reasonable to think that the roll was a collection for use in some particular proceedings.

The back contains parts of three columns of accounts written across the fibres in at least three hands and much abbreviated.

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| (m. I) |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 5 |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 10 |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | .]. 中á入ıcтal $\pi$ âv ó $\tau \iota$ є́à ${ }^{\text {a }}$. [ |
|  |  |
| 15 | . .]. тоито. [ |
|  | . . . . .] тov к[ |
|  | - |
|  |  |
|  | So Schuster; Mynors (O.C.T.) has 'Colono M: Colo |

```
ii
Aov́tov (m.2) i[5
(m. I) \epsilon̈Tovc \overline{\epsilon }0\epsilon0\hat{v}\mathrm{ OvंєcTacıa[vov̂ (month) (day)}
        \Thetaav\etá\tau\iotaov \delta\iota' є\gamma\deltaі́коv \Thetaа\muоv[.... \piро́с . . . . .
        \epsilon<\kappa \tau\hat{v\nu \rhoீ\eta0\epsiloń\nu\tau\omega\nu. 'Iov́\lambda\iotaoc \Lambdaov̂\pi[ос \piv0ó\mu\epsilon\nuос}
        A\rho\epsiloníov \tauоvै \nuо\mu\iotaко\widehat{v}\tauí \pi\epsilon\rhoi \tau\omegâ\nu\nu .[....... . кє\lambda\epsilonv́-
        ovc\iotav oi \nuó\muo\iota каi \epsiloṅ\pi\iota\gamma\nuov̀c öт\iota оv゙т\epsilon.[
        \epsiloṅ\nu \hat{\omega}\iota}\delta\epsilon\hat{\imath}\delta\iota\alpha\tauácc\inc0\alpha\iota ov̈\tau\epsilon \gamma\rhoa\mu\mu\alpha[
```







```
        .............].v \tau\epsilon\tau\in\lambda[\epsilon] v\tau\etaко́\tau[ос(?)
        ............](vac.) [...] [
        .....................]. . . . [
        - - - - - - - - - - _
12 1. \pi\alphaí\delta\omegav
```

(N.B. The translation takes into account supplements suggested in the notes and with so much of the text lost can only be an approximate guide at the best.)
i 'I5. Colo. ... th year of the deified Vespasian, Phaophi igth. X, alias Tmarus (?), versus Apollonius (and Y, sons?) of his deceased twin brother. From the record. Peducaeus Colo: "That (this?) contract has not been forged has been made clear by the very man who alleges the forgery. For he manufactured (?) the allegation out of (?) words, running no risk, but did not dare to put it in writing, naturally (and very wisely?). The contract itself will require (alteration of the will?), about which (there is no shadow of a dispute even now?) that it was lawfully made. And if indeed . . .",
ii 'I6. Lupus. Fifth year of the deified Vespasian, (month, day). Thauetion, through her representative, Thamou . . ., versus Z. From the record. Julius Lupus, after inquiring from Areius, the legal expert, what the laws provide (in such cases?) and learning that they (prescribe?) neither (a form?) in which one must make a will nor the language (in which wills should be written?), and give fathers power to disinherit whichever of their children they wish: "Since I have learnt from all (the evidence? or the assessors?) both that (the will is not?) contrary to the law and that the father is possessed of the power to disinherit whichever of his children he wishes . . .",
i I $\ell \bar{\epsilon}$. The petition of Dionysia (237) runs to 9 columns though broken at both ends. It may be that these were precedents attached to a petition.

2 By comparing this line with the spaced layout of ii 2 we can calculate that there are about 9 letters lost at the beginning of each subsequent line.

The year number cannot be restored with certainty. The only known date for Colo is shortly before 27 th July, A.D. 70 (2 Vespasian, Kaisareios 3 in 23494 seq.). On our present information about his predecessor it is possible that his term of office goes back to the I6th October (Phaophi Igth here), A.D. 69 , in which case the year would be the second ; year 3 (16th October, A.D. 70) would be closest to the known date; I6th October, A.D. 7 II (year 4) is also a possible date, though his successor Lupus apparently entered office in the course of this fourth regnal year.

0] $\epsilon 0 \hat{u}$. The copy is later than the death of Vespasian, 23 rd June, A.D. 79. The handwriting does not permit a close dating, but it seems to be of the late first or early second century.

3 Tرapoc seems the most probable reading in spite of an apparent trace between the tops of alpha and $r$ ho. As a personal name this would be new, though it is listed in Pape, Eigennamen, as a variant of Tópapos, the mountain at Dodona.

4 Possible lines for a supplement might be (1) $[\kappa \alpha i]$ at the end of 3 , followed in 4 by a short name in the accusative and vio]úc, or (2) the name of Apollonius' father-with a genitive in -ouc-qualified by the following phrase, 'his dead iwin brother'.

 earliest occurrence of the $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$ formula is dated to A.D. 90 (R. A. Coles, Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 4,
 even harsher to omit $\epsilon \hat{i \pi} \epsilon \nu$ in ii 9 and since these 'consultation' formulas are earliest attested in 706 (c. A.D. 115), Coles, op. cit., p. 51, it may be that the $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$ formula occurred here. However, on the present evidence it will be better to supply no introductory verb and use a stop-gap, e.g. toûto tò

$8 \phi \omega \nu \hat{c}$ äкıv $\delta$ úvov. This looks like a technical term, but I have found no other example of it. The $^{2}$ sense obviously is that the allegation was made orally to avoid the penalty for false accusation.
 ov่ $\tau \epsilon \tau \dot{\lambda} \lambda \mu \eta \kappa є \nu$, єiкóт $\omega \subset$. . . 'He manufactured the allegation out of words, running no risk, but he did not dare to put it in writing, naturally ...

 space is too short.

 alteration of the will, about which there is no shadow of dispute even now that it was legally drawn
 construct a satisfactory sentence with it.
$\delta \in \llbracket \delta$. [. The last two letters are struck through several times; the cancellation may extend back to $\delta \epsilon$ where there seems to be one line crossing the letters, but it looks like an accident. The second bracket ( $]$ ) is omitted because there is no means of judging how far the cancellation extended, though the simplest possibility is a dittography of $\delta \epsilon$.
 yet it seems more likely that this is the name of Thauetion's representative than that it is the name of another woman whose representative acted also for Thauetion.

5 роцккои. Cf. Taubenschlag, Lave², p. 518. Areius is not in the list in W. Kunkel, Herkunft u. soziale Stellung d. röm. Juristen, 269 seqq.
.[. $\tau$ [ most likely ; $v$ [ possible. The evidence is too slight for a specific supplement, but a general one, $\tau[$ ooov́ $\omega \nu$ is perhaps enough.

6 .]. $\epsilon[$ most likely.
 $\hat{\omega} \iota \delta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \delta$., but this is long by comparison with 8 , where the restoration $\delta \epsilon \delta \dot{\omega} \kappa[a c \iota \nu \dot{a} \pi о \kappa \lambda \eta \rho \circ] \mid \nu o ́ \mu o v c-$ i2 letters-is virtually certain.
$\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu a\left[\right.$. This may well be a reference to language i.e. $\gamma \rho \alpha{ }^{\prime} \mu \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ Ai $\gamma v{ }^{\prime} \pi \tau \iota \alpha$ or ${ }^{\text {' } E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \alpha ́, ~ c f . ~ W B . ~}$ s.v. $\gamma \rho \alpha ́ \mu \mu \alpha$ (3). Restore perhaps $\gamma \rho \alpha ́ \mu \mu \alpha[\tau \alpha \notin \nu$ oíc $\gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\eta}] \mid \nu \alpha \iota$, sc. $\delta \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ from 7 and, awkwardly, I must admit, $\delta \iota a \theta \eta_{\eta}^{\prime} \kappa a c$ as subject of $\gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota$. The active infinitive of a $-\mu \iota$ verb will be better if a plausible one can be thought of.


$9 \theta[$ é $\lambda \omega c \iota \nu$. The end of this line may easily have been left blank if there was no introductory verb, but see i 6 n .

I2 $\pi \in i \delta \omega \nu$. Comparison with 9 indicates that $\pi a i \delta \omega \nu$ is intended, but the form of the letter suggests that the writer made an epsilon by mistake.

I4 After the gap there is a long diagonal rising from the left at a shallow angle. This and the vacant space suggest that the prefect's judgement ended with 13 or the first half of 14 and was followed after a space by something else. The diagonal could be the mark of a numeral, standing in $I_{5}$, where only a few tops of letters remain.

## 2758. Petition to the Strategus Archias

$$
20.2 \times 8.8 \mathrm{~cm} .
$$

Heraclas son of Pausirion presents a petition against Apollos son of Heraclides, both from Oxyrhynchus, that he had insulted his wife Taamois. A similar complaint is found in P. Osl. 22, A.D. 127 (JEA xl (1954), pp. 32 seq.). The handwriting, of slowly written documentary type, is similar to P. Phil. i, A.D. 125 (C. H. Roberts, Greek Literary Hands, p. I3).

| 5 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | тарà 'Нраклâтoc Пav- |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 10 |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | $\omega \nu$ каi $\begin{gathered}\xi \\ \xi \\ \text { dv } \\ \text { dóp } \\ \text { cev }\end{gathered}$ кai |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 15 |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 20 |  |
|  | Aùтокра́торос Kaíca[рос] |
|  | Népova Tpacavov̂ C[ $\epsilon \beta$ actov̂] |
|  |  |


'To Archias the strategus from Heraclas son of Pausirion from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. On the past fifth (day) in the evening, Apollos son of Heraclides from the same city, who dwells in the same district, while he was drunk attacked my wife Taamois while she was in front of the door and he abused and exposed her. There were many important men present, whose names I shall report on the day fixed for the hearing. Therefore I deliver my petition and I ask you to avenge me and to prevent him from hurting me and my household for the future. I4th(?) year of the reign of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus . . .'

I Archias the strategus is not to be found in the lists of Bilabel, RE 1931, art. 'Strategus'; H. Henne, Liste de stratèges; G. Mussies, P. Lugd. Bat. xiv. In an unedited document about sale of land from Oxyrhynchus dated A.D. ino-if, a certain Archias is involved in the sale of ousiac land and the proposal of the seller passes through him. In such cases the official was usually the strategus (cf. P. Amh. 68, 97). If this identification is right, it is likely that he is the same Archias as in 2758, which could be dated not far from A.D. IIO-I1 since the period of office of the strategus was three years (cf. J. G. Tait, JEA viii (1922), pp. 166-73).
$4^{-5}$ o $\% i \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$ with part. gen. is frequent in the papyri, as in, e.g., BGU 759, 6, A.D. ii ; cf. Moulton,
 in $J E A$ xl (1954), p. 32).

7 The verb yivoнає with $\epsilon \pi i$ and dative is used in the same meaning as катаүivoual 'to dwell'.



22 The mutilated part may be similar to P. Osl. ii 28 .

## 2759. Revocation of a Will

$$
30 \times 1 \mathrm{I} \cdot 8 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

19 April, A.D. II 6
Notification sent to the agoranomoi by one of their assistants that, in accordance with the instructions of the strategus Apollonius, he had given back to Potamon the will which he had made some days before (11. $1-15$ ) and the signature of Potamon that he received the will (1l. 15-18).

Parallel texts all come from Oxyrhynchus and they all fall within the same 20 year period. The closest parallel is $\mathbf{1 0 6}$ of A.D. $\mathbf{I}_{35}$. Our document is an official statement, as are also $\mathbf{1 0 6}$ and $\mathbf{6 0 1}$ ( $=$ Cair. Mus. $10005=$ P. Preis. 32) of A.D. it6. 601 is addressed to the agoranomoi by the $\beta \iota \beta \lambda \iota o \phi u ́ \lambda \alpha \xi \in \epsilon \gamma \kappa \tau \eta ; \epsilon \epsilon \nu$, but $\mathbf{1 0 6}$ is addressed by the $\dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \dot{\epsilon} \tau \eta c$, as in our document. 107 and $\mathbf{1 7 8}$ (publ. in full by A. E. Samuel, $J J P$ xiii (1961), pp. 39-42) are acknowledgements addressed to one and the same person, Horion the scribe of the agoranomeion of the city of Oxyrhynchus, by two different persons stating that they received back their wills. P. bibl. univ. Giessen Inv. 3 II (Chr. d'Ég. 1967, pp. 360 seqq.) seems to bear on the question, but the editor's restorations and inferences cannot stand (see now N. Lewis, Chr. d'Ég. 1968 pp. 375 seqq.).







 $[\delta \iota a \theta] \eta \mathfrak{\eta} \kappa \eta \nu, \tau[0] \hat{v}$ 'тo' $\mathfrak{a} \xi \iota \omega ́ c a \nu \tau о c ~ \tau о \hat{v} \Pi_{o-}$

 [Kaíca( $\rho о с) N] \epsilon ́[\rho]$ ova Tpaïavồ Apíctov $\left[C_{\epsilon}\right] \beta[a с т о] \hat{y}$ Г $\epsilon \rho \mu \alpha \nu \iota к о \hat{v} \Delta \alpha \kappa \iota к о \hat{v}$




$\varphi \eta \nu \delta \iota a \theta \eta ́ \kappa \eta \nu$.
'To the agoranomoi from Didymus son of Sotades, assistant. I hereby inform you that the strategus of the nome, Apollonius, has instructed me to give back to Potamon also called Maximus son of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, the will which he made through you in the current month Pharmouthi . . ., in compliance with Potamon's request, and he received it back through me. The 1gth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, Pharmouthi the 24th. (second hand) I Potamon, also called Maximus son of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon, have received my aforesaid will.'

3 Cf. 1066.

 made to the strategus to revoke the will (cf. P. Mert. 75, introd.), or at least a notification was sent to him as the head of the administration of the nome.

## 2760. Petition to a Prefect

$$
12.5 \times 21 \mathrm{~cm} . \quad \text { C. A.D. } 179 / 80
$$

This petitioner left Oxyrhynchus to deliver blankets for the use of the soldiers of the Egyptian legion, II Traiana Fortis. At his destination, from which the petition was written, he had been detained more than forty days and his consignment had not yet been accepted. On the grounds that he and his companions were running short of
supplies and that the sowing season was at hand, he asked for the business to be settled so that he could go home.

The place of writing was probably Alexandria, which was the principal military base in Egypt (Lesquier, L'Armée, p. 378). Since the petitioner was an ex-cavalryman and wanted to be back in the Oxyrhynchite nome for the sowing season he is unlikely to have been a weaver. He may have been a i $\mu a \tau \iota \epsilon ́ \mu \pi o \rho o c ~ a s ~ w e l l ~ a s ~ h a v i n g ~ i n t e r e s t s ~$ in the land, but it is more likely that he was performing a liturgy, say as a $\pi \alpha \rho a \lambda \eta \mu \pi \tau \eta$ c ঠ $\eta \mu$ ociov í аатıс $\mu$ ố (cf. P. Ryl. 189 I seq.).

The papyrus tantalizingly casts some doubt on the nomen of the prefect Sanctus, which has been through so many vicissitudes and was thought to have been settled by a recently published inscription; see in.
$\alpha u ̉ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ є่ $\gamma \epsilon ́ \varphi \epsilon \tau о$ ஸ́c каi $\lambda \epsilon \iota \phi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu \alpha i ́ \mu \epsilon$
15 каì $\tau 0 \hat{c}$ cùv є’ $\mu o i ~ \tau \alpha i ̂ c ~ \tau \rho o ф а i ̂ c, ~ a ̀ \xi \iota \omega ~$
őт $\alpha \nu$ бокїна́сŋс $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \tau \alpha u ́-$
$[\tau \alpha]<\pi \rho o ̣ c ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta u ́ v a c \theta a \iota ~ \kappa \dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ́, ~ \tau o v ̂ ~$
$\epsilon \rho[\gamma] \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \epsilon ́ v o c . \delta \iota \epsilon \cup \tau u ̛ \chi$ ı. Alovúcıoс
'To Titus Ta... Sanctus, prefect of Egypt, from Dionysius Amyntianus, discharged from the cavalrymen of the ala Apriana.
'In compliance with the orders of Pactumeius Magnus, ex-prefect, and his Excellency the praefectus castrorum, Cominius Atticus, I transported here from the Oxyrhynchite nome for the uses of the legio

II Traiana Fortis blankets to the number of 775 sent by the strategus. Therefore, since I have been detained here already forty days and more and the transfer of the blankets has not yet taken place, so that I and those with me are short of the means of subsistence, I beg you, if it please your genius, to give orders, when you think fit, to take delivery of the blankets, so that I too, now that the time for sowing is at hand, may return to my home, in order that I may receive relief. Farewell. I, Dionysius Amyntianus, submitted the petition.'
i Ta.[.]. Before the gap the traces consist of a dot from the foot of a letter and at a level well above the line a horizontal with short uprights apparently rising from either end and leaning inwards slightly. The papyrus is broken away along the under side of the horizontal. After the gap there is a mere dot from the top of a letter.

The publication of an inscription from Rome by L. Moretti gave this prefect's name as T•AIOSANCTO (Riv. Fil. 88 (1960), pp. 68 seqq. = AE 1961, No. 280). Here the nomen begins Ta and is complicated by the remains above the damaged third letter. Thanks to a series of splendid photographs of the Roman inscription made and given to me by Mr. Martin Frederiksen of Worcester College, Oxford, I know that there can be no doubt of the letters of Sanctus' name there or any possibility that the first line of the inscription was preceded by something more. There is, however, some doubt whether there ever was any dot between the first $T$ and the following $A$ and there is no appreciable extra space between them as there is before SANCTO. One possibility therefore is that the nomen was one hitherto unknown, Taius, given on the stone without a praenomen and that we should read $T_{a t}[\omega]$ ! here. After much consideration and hesitation I am inclined to think that this is correct and that the remains above the line consist of the top of iota-the second uprightand part of an elaborated or a botched diaeresis, even though it does not look like the other diaereses in the document. The last letter of $\epsilon \pi \alpha \dot{\rho} \chi \propto$ is also extremely oddly written. It is far too small for the normal omega, but it is difficult to decide whether it is the small circle used as an abbreviation sign or an omega badly made.

In the only other papyrus certainly naming this prefect the nomen is lost except for the final omega (635). His name is restored in P. Lond. $3844=$ Ch. L.A. iii $201=$ Daris, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito, No. Io6, but the date of that document is disputed, see JRS lvi (1966), p. 255.

An official called Sanctus has appeared also in P. Zill. 3 (Tafel III). His nomen was published as $[M \downarrow]$ viscoc, with a reference to the procurator metallorum of the same name in ILS 8718 (A.D. I3z). Moretti claimed this document for our prefect without giving a revised reading. Pflaum (Les Carrières, pp. 1002-7) maintained that the traces should be read $M]_{[y+i}^{\prime}[\kappa]$ loc and referred to the procurator of D. 8718 . Dr. W. Müller kindly supplied me with a new photograph of the document but I find myself still unable to read it with any confidence. On the one hand there are remains which strongly suggest the $n u$ which fits Minicius and no version of our man's name; on the other there seems to be a diaeresis on the iota before the ending -oc, which hardly suits Minicius.

2 Lıovvciov A $A v v \tau \iota a v o v$. . Cf. 1534 I $_{3}$, where the names are reversed and indexed as Auvviıavóc, s. of Dionysius.

3 Ampıapท̂c. See Lesquier, L'Armée, p. 73.
5 стратотєд́ápхov. For the praefectus castrorum Aegypti see Domaszewski, Rangordnung², pp. izo2, xxxii-xxxiv.

6 Kopiviov A A $\tau \tau \kappa[0]$. He is new and may or may not be related to L. Cominius Maximus, praefectus leg. II Troianae [sic] Fortis, who is roughly contemporary, cf. Pflaum, Les Carrières, pp. 513-14 (No. I89).

9 Tpaïa $\eta \hat{c}$ ' 'Ičuvaâc. See Lesquier, L'Armée, pp. 64-71.
I9 каıро̂ $\tau \hat{\jmath} \subset$ катаслорâc. According to Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 139-40, seed com was issued at Oxyrhynchus from Mesore-say August- to Choiak-say December.

2I The 'signature' is in the same hand as the body of the text. There seems to be no official subscription, though there might be room for a very short one in the damaged left half of the bottom margin. These things suggest that the document was a copy, perhaps a mere draft in view of the supralinear addition in line 8.

## 2761. Declaration of Death

$$
8.7 \times 10.6 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

A notification to the scribe of the city from a woman that her brother, a hairdresser, is dead. The woman gives her father a Roman name, but it is not certain that he is to be regarded as a Roman citizen ( 2 n .).

$$
5
$$

'To Remmius Agatharchus scribe of the city from . . . daughter of Marcus son of Marcus her mother being Calliope from the city of the Oxyrhynchi having as guardian her son Pekysis son of Charmos son of Pekysis from the same city. My full brother As. . .s, hairdresser, registered in the square of the camp of the Lycians died just recently. Wherefore, I request that his name be inserted (in the list of those) in the same category according to what is fitting, and I swear by the fortune of the Emperors Antoninus and Verus the lords that I speak the truth. (Year . . .) of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus . . .'
 before. The name may be for ' ${ }^{\prime}$ '́ $\mu \mu$ нoc (cf. 10236,15474 ).

2 The name of the father of the lady is a Roman one. He is also the father of the deceased person
 and the fact that he is $\kappa \tau \epsilon \nu c \tau \dot{j} c$ throws doubt on the probability that the deceased is a Roman
 P. Tebt. 322, 22, A.D. 189, where the $\lambda$ aorpaфoú $\mu$ evoc has a Roman name but is surely not a Roman citizen.

In 2761 there are two possibilities: either the father is Roman by nationality and then the sons are of mixed marriage (cf. P. Lond. iii 1ı64, p. 161, 4 seqq., A.D. 212; P. Tebt. 385, A.D. ii ; Gnomon $\$ 852$ seqq.); or the father is not a Roman citizen and the Roman name does not necessarily mean Roman
 430-I, A.D. 171-2), who pay the daorpadia (cf. Iza-Biezunska-Malowist, Proceed. of the IXth Intern.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \text { кขр } \dot{\prime} \omega \nu \text { A } \dot{\tau}[0] \text { кр } \alpha \tau о ́ \rho \omega \nu \\
& \text { Avтшu! ịv[v] кaì Oủnpou тúx } \eta \nu
\end{aligned}
$$

> Kaícap[oc Mápк]ou [Av̀p $\lambda \lambda i o]$ y [ ${ }^{[A \nu \tau \omega-]}$
> [ $\nu$ ívou

Congr. of Papyrology, p. 278). O. Montevecchi, Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, lxxxiv (1951), pp. 279-88, finds that a double or triple Roman name does not prove that the person is Roman.

The lady is not Roman since her guardian is not Roman, nor does he enjoy any special position such as citizenship of Antinoe (cf. Boak, JEA xviii 69 on P. Mich. inv. 2922, A.D. I72-3). Therefore, she and her son and her husband and the deceased brother are not Romans and are subject to the dаоурафía.

## 2762. Census Return

The names of the prefect and the ex-prefect according to whose instructions this return was submitted to the strategus are here preserved beyond doubt. They are Tineius Demetrius and Aurelius Verianus. Two other less well-preserved papyri contain formulae of a similar kind and the misreading of one of them has led to an error in the list of prefects. P. Harris 7I was reported to have only the name of M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius, known from an inscription ( $I G R R$ I 135 ) to have been prefect of Egypt. The text of that papyrus was improved in P. Lugd. Bat. v, p. 55 to read
 $\Delta[$ covvciov $\Pi$ ãı $] \rho[$ iov $\tau 0 \hat{v} \dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon] \mu$ (ovєúcav $o c$ ), but this was read from a photograph and is still only partly correct. An inspection of the badly abraded original, kindly sent to Oxford by the Selly Oak Colleges, left me with no doubt that the text was substantially the same as that of 2762, i.e. $\kappa \alpha \tau[\dot{\alpha} \tau] \dot{\alpha} \kappa \epsilon\left|\lambda \epsilon v c^{\theta} \dot{v} \pi o \dot{o} T_{\iota \nu}[\eta] i o v \Delta \eta \mu \eta \tau \rho i\right|$ ov $\tau o \hat{v} \lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \circ \tau \frac{\alpha}{\prime}-$

 turns for the census of the same year. The published second column refers to Tineius Demetrius only, but the fragmentary first column was said to have the name Aurelius at this point. The editor referred it to Dionysius, but 2762 and P. Harris 7I, as revised above, seemed to make it virtually certain that Verianus was meant. Inspecting the original I found that the text of i 3-1o ran: $\kappa \alpha \tau] \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\alpha} \kappa \epsilon^{\lambda}\left|\left[\dot{v} \pi \dot{o} T_{\iota \nu \eta}\right] i o v \Delta \eta \mu \eta \tau \rho \hat{\prime}\right|[o v$



Returns for this census referring to Aurelius Verianus only are PSI 1227 and 1110, where the published text (6 seq.) vimò Avjp $\lambda$ [iov Matı iov] | [ $\Delta$ ıovvciov тov̂
 iii 134 and Aegyptus xix (1939), p. 223.

This means that there is no mention of $M$. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius in the papyri so far. It is also natural to assume that Demetrius was the direct successor of Verianus, though see $B A S P$ v, p. ıоб.

Another very similar document is now published as number 2800.

$$
\text { 'Hpá } \mu \mu \omega \nu \iota \tau \hat{\varphi} \text { каi Kácторı стр(a }(a \eta \gamma \hat{\varphi})
$$


 $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega c \cdot \kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\alpha} \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v c \theta \epsilon \in v \tau \alpha$ v́mò $T_{\iota-}$

 $\grave{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu о \nu \epsilon \cup ́ c \alpha \nu \tau о с ~ \dot{a} \pi о \gamma \rho(a ́ \phi o \mu \alpha \iota) \pi \rho o ̀ c ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \tau о \hat{v}$
 Avтшvívov Kaícapoc тои̂ кирiov кат’ оi-

 $\eta ؟ \mu о v ~ к \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \tau[\epsilon \in] \rho \alpha \mu$ оv $\mu \dot{\alpha} \mu \mu \eta<$ A $\mu \mu \omega v^{\prime} \alpha$ с $A \pi$ [ ....]. $\nu \in \chi \theta \epsilon \nu \tau[$ .....]. $\mu \in \nu \eta \tau о \iota$.[ ......]. $\gamma \rho \alpha ф \eta \geqslant[$ ........]. $\rho \alpha \nu \rho \mu[$ ...........]....[
 pap.
'To Herammon alias Castor, strategus, from Apollonius, son of Dioscorus, grandson of Apollonius, whose mother is Meithous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. According to the instructions given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, the ex-prefect, I register for the house by house census of the past 28 th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the (house) belonging to me by right of inheritance, formerly belonging to my deceased maternal grandmother Ammonia, daughter of Ap....'

I The strategus is new.
$8 \kappa \eta$ ( $ॅ$ тоuc) $=$ A.D. $187 / 8$. The date of the return is therefore A.D. $188 / 9$.

## 2763. Deed of Surety for Phylarch

$16 \cdot 6 \times 8 \mathrm{~cm}$.
A.D. 253/4

Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Thonis, who are perhaps the heads of quarters of the city (cf. Wegener, 'Notes on the фuגai of the metropoleis', in Actes Oxford, pp. 512 seqq.), give to Aurelius Posidonius the strategus of Oxyrhynchus a sworn declaration that they guarantee the person whom they introduced to carry out the liturgy as phylarch.

Aurelius Heras (ll. $12-13$ ) may be the same person as Aurelius Heras, 'phylarch of the coming fourth year', in $\mathbf{1 1 1 9} 2$ (the date has been reinterpreted by P. Mertens,

Les Services de l'état civil, p. 27, as August A.D. 253). The 'coming fourth year' of the Galli and the first year of Valerian and Gallienus are different descriptions for the period $253 / 4$. But if the Heras of these documents is identical the present appointment of Heras is not in response to the notification (1187) of the strategus Posidonius to members of the amphoda to choose a phylarch, which is dated 20 June, A.D. 254. On the phylarchy see Mertens, l.c., pp. 16 seqq., P. Parsons, $J R S$ lvii (1967), pp. 135-6; 2664 Iз n. ; and 2764 8-io.
 (r961), pp. 67 seqq.
'To Aurelius Posidonius strategus of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Theon alias Ammonius, son of Eudaemon his mother being Apollonia, and Aurelius Thonis, son of Thonis his mother being Diogenis, both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. We swear by the fortune of our lords Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Gallienus Caesars Maximi Pii Felices to guarantee, of our own free will and choice, Aurelius Heras son of Diogenes as phylarch, whom we will also produce when he is asked for, otherwise we are to be liable to the consequences of the oath. The first year of the Emperors Caesars Publius Licinius.'

7-10 This part is damaged and not easy to read. The scribe seems to be unfamiliar with the formula of the oath and inserts the missing parts between the lines. The fact that this is the first year of a new reign may account for his unfamiliarity.
$8 \Pi$ Пov $\lambda[i \omega] \nu$ : the restoration of the word in this form has no evidence to attest it. The beginning and the end of the word are certain.

9 The parts inserted are not clear. The reading suggested depends on W.O. I473, 2, A.D. 254-5.
IO-II The letters are badly scratched besides the damage. In restoring this part I have used 1554, 1555, and P. Preis. I3-17.

14 The letters are not quite clear in the second half of the line. $\delta \pi \dot{\delta} \tau\langle\epsilon \dot{\epsilon}\rangle \dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \zeta \eta \tau \tau \eta \hat{\eta}$ may be read, cf. $J J P$ xiii (1961), p. 7 I .
${ }^{1} 7$-18 The same date, if the reading is right, with another formula is in $118721-8$.

## 2764. Oath of a Clerk in the Bureau of a Strategus

Copy C $6 \cdot \mathrm{I} \times 29 . \mathrm{Icm}$.
I9 July A.D. 277
The text of this papyrus exists in three copies which differ in handwriting, spelling, and preservation. The text given below follows the best written copy (C) and reference is given to the others ( A and B ) only if they present different readings. Copies A and B are complete except for some holes, copy C is broken at the top and starts with the letters -cooc in 1.5. Copy A contains an official entry at the beginning which might also have been in the missing part of copy C. A comparison of the subscriptions shows that copy B was written by Aurelius Pekysis himself. Only the signature of his surety was added by a scribe, Aurelius Sarapion. Copy C was made by a professional scribe, to which the signatures were contributed by Aurelius Pekysis for himself and by Aurelius Sarapion for the surety. Copy A was written by four or five hands, l. I or ll. I-3 by one hand or two, by which also l. I3 of copy A (Мápкоv
 have been added to the previously written text. The signatures of copy A are done in the same way as in the other copies, Pekysis wrote for himself and Sarapion wrote for the surety.

The text of the papyrus follows the usual pattern for the oath which everybody had to take when he entered upon a duty. Cf., e.g., 1197 (A.D. 2II), 1196 (2II/I2), 1553 (214), $2120(22 \mathrm{I}), 972(223), 1455$ (275), 82 (A.D. iii), and 2765 (304). The office involved is similar to that of $\mathbf{8 2}$, which cannot any longer be regarded as the oath of a future strategus, and of $\mathbf{2 7 6 5}$. Cf. the commentary on l. ir for this matter. Lines i-5 up to $\Pi_{\epsilon \kappa \nu}$ are taken from copy A.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& A[\dot{u}] \rho \eta \lambda i c \omega^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \rho а к \lambda \epsilon^{\prime} \omega
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 5 \quad \varphi[0] \text { ¢ тои̂ Пєкúçoc } \mu \eta \tau \rho o ̣ c ~ \Theta a[\mu о v i ́ \delta o с ~ \\
& \alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi \grave{\tau} \tau \hat{\eta} \subset \lambda \alpha \mu(\pi \rho \hat{c} c) \kappa \alpha i ̀ \lambda[\alpha \mu \pi \rho o-
\end{aligned}
$$


$\alpha \nu \alpha \delta o \theta \epsilon i c ~ \dot{v} \pi \grave{o} \tau о \hat{v}$
$\tau \hat{\eta} \subset \alpha u ̛ \tau \hat{\eta} \subset \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega c$ фừáp－

ím $\eta \rho \in \subset i a \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \subset ؟ \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma i a c$
ò $\mu \nu v \neq \omega ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ то仑 кvрíov
$\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ Мápкои A $\dot{v} \rho \eta \lambda i ́ o v$
Прóßou Kaícapoc $C_{\epsilon} \beta$ астоv̄
тúx $\eta \nu$ àv $\tau \iota \lambda \dot{\eta} \mu \psi \in \subset \theta a \iota$

сíac каì єєктє入є́cєเv тạv́т $\eta \nu$

каї тıсти̂с каї троскартє－
$\rho \hat{\nu} \tau \hat{\eta}$ cтрат $\eta \gamma i ́ a \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} \delta \alpha-$

vi $\mu \in \mu \phi \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota ~ \ddot{\eta}$ є̈voХoс


入！ov Capãá $\mu \mu \omega \nu$ а
Подє́ $\mu \omega \nu$ ос $\mu \eta \tau$ то̀


бокои̂vта．（є＇тоис）$\beta^{\prime}$ Аѝтокра́торос



（2nd hand）Av́ри́入̣！ос Пєкиิсис
c̈ $\mu$ ос̣а тòv öркоь

$\chi \rho \in i ́ a \nu$ с́с $\pi \rho o ́ к є!\tau \alpha!$.
（3rd hand）Av̀（ $\eta$ ìıoc）Capa $\pi \alpha ́ \mu \omega v$［ỏ $\mu o ́ c a c$ тòv ö окор є є $\gamma \gamma \nu \omega \bar{\omega} \mu[a \iota$

 $\mu \dot{\eta} \in[i \delta o ́] \tau о с \gamma \rho \alpha ́ \mu \mu a \tau \alpha$.

| 1 1. Eicoovtoc | 5 А. ©apoydoc | 10 l. cicióvtoc | 11 A: vín $\rho \in \epsilon i a v ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \subset ~ є i c ~ с т \rho a \tau \eta \gamma i a c ~$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. ${ }^{\text {a }}$, | 12 A : ${ }^{\circ} \mu \nu \nu \mu$ | 16 B om. $\tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{c}$ |  |
|  | $\tau \hat{\eta} \ll \tau \rho(), \mathrm{B}$ | - | A : - $\lambda \iota \pi \cdot \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{B}$ om. ${ }^{\prime} \nu{ }^{22} \mathrm{~B}:-\gamma \mathrm{rat}$ |
| 24 |  | ¢́ $\mu \mu$ | póßou Aùpq入iov |

'Concerning . . . of the coming $3^{\text {rd }}$ year. To Aurelius Heracleius also called Hermias, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Aurelius Pekysis, son of Apion, grandson of Pekysis, my mother being Thamouis from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchi, having been nominated by the phylarch of the same city of the coming zrd year for service in the bureau of a strategus, swear by the fortune of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Caesar Augustus, that I shall take up the appointed duty and that I shall fulfil it, in person, honourably and faithfully and attending the bureau of the strategus continuously, that there may not be any complaint against me or else may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. I present as my surety Aurelius Sarapammon, son of Polemon and of Heracleia, from the same city, who is present and consenting. In the and year of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 25. I, Aurelius Pekysis, have sworn the oath and I shall fulfil the duty as said above. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, have sworn the oath, I give surety for Pekysis as said above. I, Aurelius Sarapion, wrote for him because he is illiterate.'

I The abbreviations $v(\quad)$ and $\sigma \tau \rho(\quad)$ can be resolved in two ways, either $\dot{v}(\pi \dot{\epsilon} \rho) \sigma \tau \rho\left(a \tau \eta \gamma^{\prime} a c\right)=$ concerning the bureau of a strategus, or in regard to l. if $\dot{v}(\pi \eta \rho \in \sigma i a) \sigma \tau \rho(a \tau \eta \gamma i a c)=$ concerning service in the bureau of a strategus. Cf. commentary to l. II on the duty involved.

The forthcoming third year is $277 / 8$.
2 This strategus is new.
4 Aurelius Pekysis is not otherwise known. The mother's name is only in A; for $\varphi, v$ might be read.

9 Cf. 2763 introd. on the phylarch.
if The office involved presents some difficulties. It is referred to also in l. I6 $\dot{\eta} \delta \eta \lambda o v \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \in c i a$, and $1.20 \pi \rho о с к а \rho \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \subset \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma i a c$. The phrase of 1.20 is identical with one of 82 (A.D. iii). Проска $\tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ is nowhere else used in connection with any office as far as I have been able to ascertain. Thus the phrase $\pi \rho о с к а \rho \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\eta}$ cт $\alpha \tau \tau \gamma \gamma^{\prime} \dot{q}$ or rather the use of $\pi \rho о с к а \rho \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ as remaining in or at an office was not very common and one may conclude that $\mathbf{8 2}$ and $\mathbf{2 7 6 4}$ dealt with the same matter. 82 is preserved as a fragment only, but the remaining part clearly shows that it formed the bottom part of the oath sworn on taking over a duty. Indeed not only in regard to $\pi \rho \circ \kappa \kappa \alpha \rho \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\eta}$ cт $\rho a \tau \eta \gamma i \alpha$ is $\mathbf{2 7 6 4}$ identical with $\mathbf{8 2}$, but all extant phrases of $\mathbf{8 2}$ which are typical for such an oath agree with the corresponding lines of $\mathbf{2 7 6 4}$.

Owing to the phrase $\pi \rho о с к а \rho \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\eta}<\tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma i \alpha \mathbf{~} \mathbf{8 2}$ has been regarded as the oath of a strategus and this classification has led several times to discussions as to whether the office of a strategus was still an $\dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta$ ' or already a $\lambda \epsilon \iota \tau o u \rho \gamma i \alpha$ or a similar post in the later Roman period. If one applies these theories on 82 to 2764, one has to conclude that Aurelius Pekysis was nominated as a strategus for $277 / 8$, and this would necessitate several conclusions on the (leiturgic) character of the office of a strategus.

But there are two objections to such an assumption which will later have some relevance to the interpretation of $\mathbf{8 2}$ also. According to the list of strategi (cf. above) a strategus named Aurelius Harpocration was in office in the same year for which Aurelius Pekysis was nominated and took the oath. Harpocration is mentioned for Pharmouthi. Therefore one may conclude that Pekysis died before Pharmouthi 278 and that for some obscure reason his surety did not take over the duty and that Harpocration was therefore installed as a strategus during the year $277 / 8$. But this rather difficult conclusion should be accepted only if there is no other explanation. The second objection is to be found in the lines of $\mathbf{2 7 6 4}$ in which Pekysis' office is mentioned (II and I6). It is called a vim $\quad \rho \in c i ́ a ~ \tau \hat{\eta} c$ <т $\alpha \tau \eta \gamma i a c$ or simply $\dot{u} \pi \eta \rho \in c i a$. This classification shows that Pelkysis was nominated for any job in the



 is regarded as $\dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \in ́ \tau \eta c \tau о \hat{v}$ cтрaт $\frac{1}{} \gamma \circ \hat{v}$, and 2764. It remains uncertain whether Pekysis was to become
 time, or whether he only had to become one of the many clerks working in the bureau of a strategus. Cf. H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, 'YПHPETAI', JJP xi-xii (1957/8), pp. 14I-66 (a detailed discussion of $\dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \epsilon \tau a i$ of every kind in Greek and Roman Egypt), who point out (p. 144) that the great
 one as well as any other worker in the bureau of a strategus was installed according to the usual procedure of liturgists and was liable to the oath, in which he had to swear that he would fulfil his duty,
 ments could not have been the oath of a future strategus, but should be regarded as the oath of any clerk in the bureau of a strategus. He was responsible for the delivery of messages concerning nominations to duties and was probably identical with the $\dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \epsilon \in \tau \eta c ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ ст $\rho a \tau \eta \gamma o \hat{v}$ who was usually responsible for the delivery of messages.

24 Aurelius Sarapammon is not otherwise known.
29 The year is $276 / 7$.
2765. Oath on Undertaking Service

$$
\mathrm{IO} .7 \times 19.5 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

19 December, A.D. 304
Two fragments which together form the bottom part of an oath. The lost upper part of the oath recorded the office, for which Aurelius Sarapiacus took the oath. The duty concerned was probably ( 2 n .) similar to that which occurs in 82 (A.D. iii) and 2764 (A.D. 277).













 койчт $\alpha$




Хоиаккк.


|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $A \hat{u} \rho\left(\eta{ }^{\prime} \lambda \iota o c\right)$ | ¢ ${ }^{\prime \prime} \gamma \rho(\alpha \Downarrow \sim \alpha) \dot{v}(\pi \dot{\epsilon} \rho) a(\dot{v} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu) \mu \grave{\eta}$ |
|  | $\epsilon i \delta(o ́ \tau \omega \nu) \gamma \rho\left(\alpha{ }^{\prime} \mu \mu a \tau \alpha\right)$. |


| 2, 17 єvveaкau | 9 1. $\epsilon \kappa \kappa \tau \in \lambda \epsilon \in \epsilon \in \iota \nu$ | II l. $\dot{\alpha} \delta \iota \alpha \lambda \epsilon i \pi \tau \omega c$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

'. . . the 20th and the 19th and the 12th year. I swear on the fortune of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, that I shall hold the appointed duty and that I shall fulfil it in person, obedient to the orders given to me, continuously, that there may not be any complaint against me, or else may I be liable to the consequences of the divine oath. I presented as my surety Aurelius Adrastus of the same city who is present and consenting. In the 2oth and 19th year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and in the 12th year of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Choiak 23. I, Aurelius Sarapiacus, have sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Adrastus, give surety for him as aforesaid. I, Aurelius . . . ., wrote for them because they are illiterate.'
$2 \dot{v \pi}] n \rho \leqslant c i a y$ is read on the basis of the similarity of the traces to those in 1. 9. If sтparnүov̂ is rightly read, Aurelius Sarapiacus is to be $\dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \epsilon \in \tau \eta$ c $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ cт $\rho a \tau \eta \gamma \circ \hat{v}$, like Pekysis in 2764. It is not clear whether we should write $\dot{v} \pi]_{\eta \rho \in \epsilon i a v}\langle\tau o \hat{v}\rangle \subset \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o \hat{v}$ in 2 , supposing a scribal error, or not. If we write this, we make Sarapiacus assistant to the strategus actually in office; without the article he may be supposed simply to be undertaking in the current year the duty of assistant to the strategus. Normally in these undertakings the obligation is for the coming, not the present, year. As a strategus was usually in office for 3 years Sarapiacus might have become $\dot{v} \pi \eta \rho \in ́ \tau \eta c$ for the second or third year of the strategus who was in office in 304/5.



3 The regnal years are abbreviated in an uncommon way (cf. plate). Of the compound number ig only the beginning 'nine' is written in letters, followed by the common shortened form of кai and by the sigle for ten. The same way of writing the number ig occurs in l. 17. Cf. 2766 II $n$.

13 seq. Cf. parallel oaths given in 2764 introd. on the general wording of an oath and 1.23 of this papyrus for the surety's name, both of which made the restoration of the missing portion possible.
2766. Declaration by Epimeletes

$$
17.5 \times \text { I } 5.5 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Aurelius Tryphon who was appointed as epimeletes for the $\dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha \kappa o \mu i \delta \eta$ of the annona militaris (cf. P. Preis. 13-14, 16-17, all A.D. iv; Oertel, Liturgie, p. 215) gives to the strategus Aurelius Horion a sworn declaration that he received from the granaries the wheat and the barley to transport to the Small Oasis. A similar declaration is 1261, of A.D. 325 .

$\tau \hat{\omega \nu} \epsilon \pi \pi \iota \phi a \nu \epsilon \subset \tau \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ каıса́p $\omega \nu$ тò $\epsilon$.

 $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi(\rho о \tau \alpha ́ \tau \eta \subset) ~ ' O \xi(\nu \rho v \gamma \chi \epsilon \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu) \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon-$









$\tau, \pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha}$


 $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho \omega \tau \alpha ́ \tau \eta \subset$


"Oacıv



].[.....].].[

18 l. éкєíce
'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximian, most renowned Caesars, for the fifth time. To Aurelius Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Tryphon son of

Thonius，ex－exegetes，senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites and superintendent of the wheat and barley under transport to the Small Oasis．I swear by the fortune of our lords the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Galerius，most renowned Caesars，that I have received from，on one hand，Aurelius Sabinus and his partners，receivers and sealers of the granaries of the village of Kerkeura of the middle toparchy of the Oxyrlynchite nome，three hundred artabae，which are 300 ，of the cleanest wheat and measured by the public measure，of the production of the $19 t h$（year）and 18 th（year）and ith（year）and on the other hand， from Aurelius Kiarouris and Aurelius Louteus and his partners，receivers and sealers of the granaries of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the quarter of Pses， 150 artabae of grain，which are 150 artabae， of the cleanest barley and measured by the public measure from the production of the past 2oth， ＜Igth＞，and I2th（year），which wheat and barley I shall transport to the Small Oasis and give to the receivers there complete in total and shall produce the receipts of delivery，without giving any cause for complaint，otherwise may I be liable to the penalties of the divine oath ．．．＇

I－2 The same formula is in 859 I ．
3 The strategus of Oxyrhynchus in A．D． 305 was not previously known．
5 cıто́крı有 is not a mixture（cf． 1253 I5 n．，A．D．iv）．Cf．R．Browning，＇Medieval and Modern Greek＇ 7 I ．
 in the Small Oasis（cf．Lesquier L＇Armée rom．，pp． 412 seq ．；Wallace，Taxation，pp． 315 seq. ）．

II The date is given by the igth year of the reign of Diocletian．The scribe wrote＇Igth year＇in
 ${ }_{5} 5$ The omission of $t \theta$ is probably a mere error．
18－20 This part may be restored from 1261 ıо－11； $\mathbf{1 1 1 5 9}$ ；P．Thead．28， $9=$ P．Cair．Preis．I3， I2－I3；I4，I3，all late A．D．iii－early iv．

## 2767．Oath Concerning Care for Trees

 $26.6 \times 9 \mathrm{~cm}$.29 March，A．D． 323
Horigenes son of Cornelius，Kalamois the shoemaker，and the other $\mu$ є́тoхoı give a sworn declaration to Dioscourides the logistes that they will undertake to care for and irrigate the persea tree and the $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta o \lambda \dot{\eta}$ which were near their houses．

This document emphasizes that the Roman administration continued the Ptole－ maic rules of planting and care of trees as shown in P．Tebt．iii 703，191－211，late iii B．c．It is made quite clear that compulsion was applied（ll． $12-13$ ）in planting trees in the city streets．Planting and care of trees were done by contractors both in the Ptolemaic（cf．Rostovtzeff，Soc．and Econ．Hist．of the Hell．World，pp． 298 seqq．） and in the Roman periods．
тарà＇Spıүє́vove Kopuך入íov
каї Kадано́̈тос скитє́шс
$\kappa a i ~ \tau \omega \hat{\omega} \mu \epsilon \tau o ́ \chi \omega \nu \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ $\alpha{ }_{\alpha} \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\eta} c ~ a u ̉ \tau \eta ̂ c ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega c . ~ \delta \mu о \lambda о-~$ $\gamma \circ \hat{u} \mu \epsilon \nu$ ỏ $\mu \nu v ́ v \tau \epsilon \subset$ тòv $\subset \in \beta$ ác $\mu \tau o(\nu)$ $\theta \epsilon i ̂ o \nu$ ӧркоу $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon \subset \pi о \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega}(\nu)$




 $\nu$ ос $\pi \rho о с \tau \alpha ́ \xi \epsilon \omega \subset \nu \epsilon \omega \subset \theta i$
 тоі̂ $\mathfrak{\eta} \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \rho о и с ~ о і ̈ к о г с ~ є ̇ \pi i ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ ठоо́ноv Y'є $\pi \rho o ̀ c ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \zeta \omega o \gamma o v є i ̂(\nu) ~$


$\tau \hat{\eta} c \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta o \lambda \bar{\eta} c \tau \hat{\eta} c \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu[\alpha \delta \rho] \rho \mu \hat{\eta} c($ ? $)$








$\mu a \tau \alpha$.
30 (3rd hand) Spópov Yaíc votionc [ $\pi] \lambda \epsilon$ еира̂с àmò оiк( ) .[ [.]ouc ouv. $\pi \rho a \gamma($ ) $\epsilon$. [ $[\dot{\eta}] \pi \in \rho\left(c^{\prime} a\right) \theta^{\prime}$

 30 l. $\Psi \Psi_{\epsilon} \in$
'In the time of the consuls to be designated for the third time. To Dioscourides logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Horigenes son of Cornelius, from Kalamois the shoemaker and their partners, all of this same city. We agree, swearing the august divine oath by our lords the unconquered kings, that we shall take every care of and do every service to and regularly irrigate the persea tree, which has been lately planted by order of higher authority in front of our houses on the Pses' road, for
it to propagate and to grow always. In addition we undertake to watch and safeguard the space around this same persea tree in a way that will allow no censure, otherwise may we incur the consequence of the divine oath. 3rd Pharmouthi of the aforesaid consulship. (2nd hand) We, Horigenes and Kalamois, have sworn the divine oath as stated above, and I the same Horigenes have written for the other because he is illiterate. (3rd hand) Pses' road on the south side from the property (?) of Horigenes, wine-. . . The persea tree, 9th.'

I On the significance of the dating see E. W. Kase, P. Princeton Roll 32 seqq., P. Cair. Isid. 78, P. Merton ii 92,25 , and 2771 I.
 1509 (undated).

 verso iv. r; cf. H. Rink, Strassen und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus, p. 49.
 (cf. 11882 2, 33 nn., A.D. I3). It means here 'to propagate', cf. Thphr. CP 3, 22, 3; id., $H P 8$, II, 2. It is clear that the Roman administration cared for the multiplication of trees (cf. D.S. i 88 ; Plut. 2 , 494 c). See on $\zeta \boldsymbol{\omega}$ oyov' $\omega$, O. Montevecchi, 'Lingua Graeca nella Settanta e nei papiri', Actes du X $X^{e}$ Congr. Intern. de Papyr., p. 43. єن̇ $\theta a \lambda \epsilon i v$ was suggested by Dr. John Shelton. An unpublished document of this kind addressed to the same logistes has the word at this point in the formula.
$3^{1-3}$ Additional texts of this kind being worked on by Dr. Shelton have helped in reaching the reading given. oik ( ) may be abbreviated for оiк (o $\pi \epsilon \delta \omega \nu)$ or oiк (iac). A name is to be expected after it, then oivoтрá $(o v)$ is excluded because the last letter is not like $\tau$. [ $\pi] \lambda \in u \rho a \hat{c}$ in 31 is not well attested in a geographical sense.

## VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2768. Settlement Before Arbitrators

$$
25 \times \mathrm{II} \cdot 8 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Late third century
Settlement before arbitrators in which the parties are Harsiesis and Harsas sons of Petosiris on one side and Myronous also called Ptolema acting through her husband Theon on the other side. Myronous had presented her case before the archidicastes for the recovery of a property which previously belonged to Thompsemis. The nature of the property and the reason for the àvaкouı $\delta \dot{\eta}$ are not clear. The text is a $\delta \iota a ́ \lambda v a c$ agreement, because it contains the formula кai $\mu \dot{\eta} \epsilon \bar{\epsilon} \gamma \kappa \alpha \lambda \epsilon \hat{\nu} \kappa \tau \lambda$. (J. Modrzjewski, $J J P$ vi (1951), p. 252), such dialysis being the fourth stage in the dispute.
 fied with the corrector of the same name cannot be discussed here.


каi $\pi \rho a \gamma \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ả $\pi \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ \chi \theta \alpha \iota ~ \omega ̈ с-~$ $\tau \epsilon \tau \grave{\eta} \nu M v \rho[\omega] \nu 0 \hat{\nu} \nu \alpha \mu \beta \alpha ́ \nu o v-$
cav $\pi \alpha ̣ \rho \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath} \tau \grave{\nu}$ A Apcıท̂cıv

 $\epsilon \dot{\delta} \delta o \kappa i ̂ \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$ єíc $\tau \grave{o}\langle\nu\rangle \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\phi o ̣ ̀ v \Theta о \mu \psi \hat{\eta} \mu \nu \nu\langle o ้ \nu \tau \alpha\rangle \kappa \alpha i \begin{gathered}\pi \rho о к \tau \eta \prime \tau[о \rho a]\end{gathered}$ $[\alpha, \alpha \alpha] \kappa о \mu \iota \delta \hat{\eta}\{\nu\} \kappa \alpha i \mu \dot{\eta} \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda[\epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu]$
 $\mu \dot{\eta} \tau \epsilon \tau о \hat{c} \pi \pi \alpha \rho^{\prime}[a] \dot{v} \tau o \hat{v}$ ỏ $\eta \not \subset \alpha \mu \epsilon ́-$


х̣́́\{.\}рךсьข кขрiạy [.]...ıך.[

'(Settlement) between Harsiesis and Harsas both sons of Petosiris on one side and Myronous also called Ptolema acting through her husband Theon on the other side, in the presence of Apollonius son of Ischyrion ex-exegetes organizer of ceremonies in office and in charge of the stemmata, and Phanias son of Saras archiereus in office, both senators of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Whereas Myronous has made her appearance before Aurelius Achilles archidicastes in office against Harsiesis and Harsas and their party about the recovery of the properties which her father delivered to Thompsemis brother of Harsiesis and Harsas, who was the previous owner ; since the provisions written in the recovery are that Myronous, when she becomes of age, should agree on the recovery; and since there was a judicial investigation before the archidicastes : it seemed good by common consent in the presence of the said arbitrators to avoid a lawsuit and to settle the matters in hand on condition that Myronous takes from the family of Harsiesis and Harsas, on account of the expenses which she had one talent and 5,000 drachmae of silver, and agrees on the recovery which was made to Thompsemis brother of Harsiesis and Harsas, the previous owner, and that she neither accuses nor will take proceedings against him or against the purchasers from him and that the cession to Harsiesis and Harsas and their family is valid . . .'

3-5 Apollonius son of Ischyrion is évaрұос $\pi \circ \mu \pi а \gamma \omega \gamma o ́ c$. The exegetes is met acting as $\pi \circ \mu \pi а \gamma \omega \gamma o ́ c$, in P. Brux. inv. E. 7910, 2, A.D. iii $=\mathrm{SB} 9161, \mathrm{P}$. Erlang, $31=\mathrm{SB} 9162$, A.D. iii (cf. Bingen, Chr. d'ÉEg. lxi (1956), p. III). P. Mertens (Les services de l'état civil, p. ${ }^{5} 5^{2}$ ) restores PSI 457 (intr., and Jouguet, La vie municip., pp. 315 seqq.), A.D. 276 , as $\langle\epsilon\rangle \xi \eta \gamma\left(\quad\right.$ $\epsilon^{\prime} \nu \alpha ́ \rho \chi(\omega) \pi \rho \mu(\pi a \gamma \omega \gamma \hat{\omega})$ by analogy with P. Brux. inv. E. 7910, justifiable because of the close relation between the exegetes and the epicrisis. In the four ${ }^{\text {I }}$ papyrus examples of the word $\pi \pi \mu \pi \alpha \gamma \omega \gamma$ óc, there is no clear evidence of his precise function. In A.D.
 connection of the exegetes with these processions.

I Add now BGU 2 II 84.

Aлодגஸ́voc 'Icхирíwvoc: the name of the father and that of the son have not occurred before together. Professor P. Mertens of the University of Liège has kindly suggested by letter some places where an A Aто $\lambda \lambda$ ćvtoc is mentioned and contemporary to Apollonius son of Ischyrion of 2768. (I) PSI 74, Io, A.D. iii, ex-agoranomos and senator. (2) P. Harris 75, 3, A.D. iii (?), ex-exegetes, senator, and keeper of the Archives. (3) 59.5, A.D. 292, ex-hypomnematographus and strategus.
 pp. 198, 200) as well as in the metropolis (cf. P. Ryl. 77, A.D. 54-67, i n.). The competence of the ap $\rho \not \subset \epsilon \rho \in \dot{v} c$ in legal affairs is not clear (cf. Jouguet, l.c., pp. 338 seqq.). It may be assumed that these two $\mu \in$ ciral were merely acting in a private arbitration. The limits between the administrative and religious functions of the office of the $\dot{a} \rho \chi \iota \epsilon \rho \epsilon \varepsilon^{c}$ are still in need of study, cf. E. P. Wegener, Mnemosyne (1948), pp. 15 seqq.

6 Capâ is the genitive in P. Osl. inv. Ioz6, recto 2 ; Capâтoc (e.g. 1293) is more common, cf. Symb. Osl. xxxviii (1963), p. 4I, n. 2.

Io-II This archidicastes is not previously known (cf. A. Calabi, Aegyptus xxxii 406 seqq.). An
 (SB 442 I, I, A.D. iii).
$20 \varepsilon \kappa \delta \circ \xi \epsilon \nu \kappa \circ \iota \nu \hat{\eta} \gamma \nu \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \eta$ (cf. P. Lond. v 1708, A.D. 567). For the various terms of the decision of the arbitrators, see Rees, $J J P$ vii-viii 252 seq.
 document to denote reason instead of $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ (cf. Blass-Debrunner, § 23I). See also examples in Mayser, ii ${ }^{1} 328$.
$28 \tau o ́=\tau o ́\langle\nu\rangle$ : for the omission of the final $\nu$, see P. Osl. ii 33, 9; 44, 11 ; Mayser, i 99, 192.

## 2769. Agreement Concerning Substitution in Sitologia

$22.5 \times 9.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Contract whereby Aurelius Philosarapis, son of Zoilus, who was nominated by the amphodogrammateus for the liturgy of sitologia, makes an agreement by which Aurelius Sarapion will carry out the routine tasks of his office. This contract is, to a great extent, similar to P. Mich. inv. 259 of A.D. 223 (unpublished) ; I should like to thank Professor H. C. Youtie who kindly sent me a transcript of it. Both documents offer a full description of the duties of a sitologus, reveal how a substitute was hired, and make clear that appointment of a substitute does not alter the responsibility to the state of the principal. A hired employee such as this was paid for by the hirer (cf. N. Lewis, Proceed. of IXth Intern. Congr. of Papyr., p. 24 r ; id., P. Leit. 13 and introd.).

$Z \omega \iota ̂ \lambda o v \mu \eta \tau \rho o ̀ c ~ \Theta a \eta ́ c \iota o c ~ a ̀ \pi ' ~ ' O \xi v \rho u ́ \gamma \chi \omega \nu \pi o ́-$
$\lambda \epsilon \omega c$ ả $\nu a \delta o \theta \epsilon i c$ ú $\pi o ̀ ~ \tau o \hat{v} \tau \hat{\eta} c ~ \alpha u ̉ \tau \hat{\eta} c ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega c$
а̉ $\mu$ оооора $\mu \mu а \tau \epsilon ́ \omega c$ єіс сєєтодоүíav $\delta \eta \mu$ -
5

















 $\pi \rho а к \tau о \nu$ каї ̈ैскидто⿱ тарє́ $\xi \epsilon \iota \nu$ тò̀ $\Phi_{\iota-}$







 （ётоvс）є Av̉токра́торос Kaícapoc Máp［к］ov Avтсшvíov Горбıavô̂ Eủcєßô̂c Eủtư［ $\chi o]$ ûc $C_{\epsilon} \beta a c \tau o v ̂$ Пav̂vı $\bar{\theta}$ ．Aùpj̀ $\lambda \iota o c$ Capa［ $\pi i] \omega \nu$ ó к（ai） ＇$\Omega \rho i \omega v$ Саратí $\omega \nu$ ос［cu］$\quad \eta \lambda \lambda a ́ \gamma \eta \nu$ $\dot{\omega} \pi \pi \rho o ́ \kappa \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota \kappa[a] i \quad \delta[\iota a \pi \epsilon ́ \pi \epsilon \epsilon]<\mu \alpha \iota(?) \pi \epsilon \rho i \tau(\hat{\omega \nu})$

 ．$\pm 8$ ］$] \omega[ \pm 16$ ］ verso：cuvá $\lambda \lambda a \gamma \mu a$ cıтo入（oүíac）．

[^2]'Aurelius Philosarapis son of Zoilus, his mother being Thaesis of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, who was nominated by the amphodogrammateus of the same city for the sitologia of the public corn of the village of Tanais in the current 5th year, and Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion son of Sarapion, his mother being Eudaemonis of the same city, agree, on the one hand, that Aurelius Philosarapis has transferred to Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion the aforementioned sitologia on condition that he will collect the public tax of half an artaba and the public corn paid in the sitologia and will issue receipts to the payers and will submit the usual summaries and the monthly reports and all the required accounts of the sitologia to the strategus of the nome and will deliver in full, honourably, and faithfully, to the shippers who will be directed to the said sitologia all the public corn paid on its account and will receive the usual receipts in the name of the sitologus, and will render Philosarapis undisturbed and free from exaction and damage with reference to absolutely everything related to the said sitologia; and on the other hand that Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion, satisfied by Philosarapis concerning all the expenses of the sitologia, will perform every task as set forth above. The agreement, written in duplicate so that each may have one copy, is valid, and questioning each other they agreed. The 5th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Payni 9. I, Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion son of Sarapion, have agreed as mentioned and have been satisfied concerning the expenses . . '
 logia (cf. P. Mertens, Les Services de l'état civil, p. 9), not previously attested.

 'deposit'. When a deposit was actually brought to the $\theta \eta$ cav $\rho o ́ c$, the wheat was described as $\mu \epsilon \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \eta \mu \epsilon$ voc (cf. 518 I-5, A.D. I79-80). The wheat which was paid or transferred from the account of a certain person to that of somebody else was described as $\delta \iota \epsilon \subset \tau a \lambda \mu \epsilon ́ v o c ~(c f . ~ 516 ~ 7-8, ~ A . D . ~ 160 ; ~ 517 ~ I-9, ~ A . D . ~ I З ० ; 1530 ; ~$ $1539 ; 1540 ; 14444 \mathrm{n}$.). When such persons asked for payment from their deposits, the term סıactodıкóv was used for this process (cf. $\mathbf{5 3 3}$ 4). The owner of a private account could transfer the $\theta$ ө́ $\mu a$ or part of it ( $\dot{\alpha} \pi \grave{o} \theta \dot{\epsilon} \mu a \tau о c)$ either to the account of another person or to the public account (cf. Calderini, $\theta$ クcaupoí, p. 4; Preisigke, Girowesen, pp. 143 seq.). The usual term for that was $\delta \iota a c \tau \epsilon \in \lambda \lambda \epsilon \nu$ (614). The sitologus, then, must make a notification of payment ( $\delta \iota a c \tau o \lambda \iota \kappa o ́ v, ~ \delta \iota a c \tau o \lambda \eta$ ). The fact that he must issue such notification is attested by the usage of the verb $\epsilon \in \kappa \delta \iota \delta o ́ v a \iota ~ ' t o ~ i s s u e ', ~ a s ~ i n ~ . ~ . ~ \epsilon e ́ к \delta \iota \delta o ́ v \tau a ~$
 acknowledgement of the payment, i.e. receipts. Consequently $\theta \epsilon$ éraza in 2769 should mean receipts.

If The name of the strategus of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 242 is unknown.
 the document, the $\epsilon \pi \iota \zeta \eta \tau o v ́ \mu \epsilon v a \beta \iota \beta \lambda i a$ may indicate the reports required for shorter periods or else any required account. In P. Flor. 317, 6 and introd., Vitelli concluded that daily reports were sent to the strategus, but Calderini, $\theta$ qcaupoí, p. 7 denied this. Hunt (2119) puts P. Flor. 317 in the same category as P. Giss. 63 where reports were sent every five days, cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 491 ; Zaki Aly, JJP iv (1950), p. 293; id., Akt. Wien., pp. I7 seqq.; P. Mert. 77, 8 seqq. n. For the term $\tau \bar{\eta}<$ cıтодоүíac $\beta \iota \beta \lambda i ́ a$ cf. P. Lond. 306 ii, p. II8, I5-16, A.D. I45, $\tau a ̀ \tau \hat{\eta} \subset \tau a ́ \xi \epsilon \omega \subset \beta[i] \beta \lambda i ́ a$ (of a praktor argyrikon) ; P. Fay.
 are likely to be the account-books, in which everything related to the sitologia is recorded, rather than the reports made to other authorities.
 à弓ךнíove $\pi а \rho \epsilon ́ \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$.
 the salary as well as the other expenses is usually expressed more clearly: expenses in P. Lond.


 (r929), pp. 225 seqq.; P. Mich. inv. 259, 22-3, A.D. 223; BGU Io62, 20, A.D. 236; P. Leit. 13, 17-20, mid
 $\tau \omega \nu \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$. In 11. $3^{6-7}$ in $\kappa[a] \grave{i} \delta[\iota a \pi \epsilon \in \pi \epsilon \iota] \leqslant \mu a \iota(?) \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{i} \tau(\hat{\omega} \nu) \dot{a} \nu[a] \lambda \omega \mu a ́ \tau \omega[\nu$ the substitute acknow-
ledges receipt of a sum of money for the expenses of the liturgy, but it is not to be expected that more details about the expenses and the salary would have been in the mutilated part. It must be assumed that the ajvaגć $\mu a \tau \alpha$ include the salary.

34 The date of the document in the month of Payni establishes the time of the beginning of the leiturgia.
$3^{6} \delta[\iota a \pi \epsilon \in \pi \epsilon \iota]$ ¢ $\mu a \iota(?)$. Cf. BGU 1o62 19, the only other reference in the papyri. However $\delta \iota a ́ \pi \epsilon \iota \subset \mu a$ is very common and lends some support.

## 2770. Deed of Divorce

$11.6 \times 27.0 \mathrm{~cm}$.
26 January, A.D. 304
Deed of divorce between Aurelius Heracles and Aurelia Maria. The wife's name Maria raises the question whether she was Jewish or Christian. On Tcherikover's criteria, CPJ i xvii-xviii, she should be considered as Jewish. But since her family and husband's family bear Graeco-Egyptian names, and the document itself offers no other indication of her religion, it is possible to accept her as a pagan, believing her name to be a reflection of Jewish or Christian influence. A few places where the surface is rubbed have been restored from parallels (cf. Mitteis, Chr. 330 seqq.), not always easily because of the scribe's inability to sustain a grammatical construction.


```
            \hat{\varphi}
        \kappaаi ả\nu\epsilon[\gamma]\kappa\lambda\eta\prime\tau\omega
```




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        25 \epsilonं\pi\epsilonр\omega\tau\eta0\epsilońv\tau\epsilonс ஸ.шо\lambdaо\gamma\etáса\mu\epsilon\nu.
```




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        кирí\omegav \dot{\eta}[\mu]\hat{\omega\nu}\mathrm{ Kшvста⿱亠тíov каi}
```



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        Ka\iotac[\alphá]p\omegay T\hat{v\beta}\iota\overline{\lambda}
2nd hand) \overline{A}v\rho\etá\lambda\iotaoс 'Нрак\lambda\etaेс
```



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        с\epsiloǹ cu\betaí\omegacuv каì \epsilon"с\chiov \tau\alphà
```




```
        \muодó\gamma\etaса.
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Bıи́сеши
'In the consulships of our lords the emperors Diocletian Augustus for the ninth and Maximian Augustus for the eighth time. Aurelius Heracles son of Serapion his mother being . . ., of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, and my former and divorced wife Aurelia Maria daughter of Heracleides her mother being Tauonis (?) of the same city greetings. We agree to have dissolved our mutual union and that each of us has all his belongings fully, and I do not make against you nor will make any claim, nor proceed on account of written or unwritten matters of the same union, nor of debt or of any other thing whatsoever from former times up to the present day. Since there are no children of our union, . . . each of us has the power to marry whom he may choose without incurring liability or claim. This document of the dissolution (of the marriage) is valid. It was written in two copies in order that each should have one copy, and having been questioned we agrced Year 20 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti, and I2 of our lords Constantius and Maximian, the most distinguished Caesars, Tybi 30.
(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Heracles, have dissolved the union with you and have all my belongings as aforesaid, and having been questioned I agreed.'

5 As a reading a name like Cєкоỵdiyac might be acceptable.
I2 Cf. 266 I6-19, P. Grenf. ii 76, 16-19.



I8 Possibly $\tau \hat{\epsilon} \kappa \nu \omega \nu \delta \dot{\delta} \dot{\eta} \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\imath} \nu \epsilon \mathfrak{\epsilon} \xi \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \lambda \omega \nu \mu \dot{\eta}$ öv $\nu \omega \nu$ was intended.

## 2771. Power of Attorney

$21 \times 10 \mathrm{~cm}$.
A.D. 323

The purport of this document is straightforward enough, but no formal parallel to it has come to my notice. This may be because the original was drawn up on the island of Cos. The evidence, though not conclusive, suggests that this is a copy made in Egypt. It seems that the subscription, which should be an autograph, is in the same hand as the rest. This could, however, be because the woman who delegated authority for the sale of a slave could not write. The loss of the foot would have removed the declaration of a úroypaфeúc. The writing and orthography are typical of Egyptian papyri, but we have no reason for supposing that these things would be very different on Cos.

The presence of this document at Oxyrhynchus probably indicates that at least one of the people mentioned in it, the woman, her husband and attorney, her slave, or the hypothetical buyer of the slave, made the journey from Cos to Oxyrhynchus.

Other évzodaí of various forms are P. Lond. ii 233, P. Lips. 38, 1423, and P. Cair. Masp. i 67124. This list is given by P. Simon, Zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel, p. 87.




5








Verso (along the fibres) $\epsilon \pi \iota \tau \rho о \pi \iota \kappa \grave{\eta} \epsilon \nu \tau[0] \lambda \hat{\eta}[$

'Under the consuls to be designated for the third time, the 8th day before the Kalends of July, in the glorious city of the Coans, in the month of Agrianius.

I, Aurelia Artemonis, woman of Cos, gave a mandate to my husband, . . .ius, so that he might have power, through this mandate of mine, either to sell or to bestow my slave Theodora, whom he bought for me in my name, so that the buyer may have proof of purchase and security, and so that he may be subject to no investigation, and through the same mandate of mine (the transaction?) shall be valid and warranted. I, Aurelia Artemonis, woman of Cos, . . .'
(Verso) 'Delegatory mandate.'
 P. Princ. Roll, pp. 32-6 for the year, and 2767 I.
$2 K \not \hat{\omega} \omega \nu$ : according to Steph. Byz. there was a city called K $\hat{\omega}$ in Egypt, taken to be Kus, or Apollinopolis Parva ( $R E$ xi $1480(2)$ ), and there was an $\epsilon$ éroiкьov $K \hat{\omega} c$ in the Arsinoite nome, but the following month-name supports the view that this is the city on the well-known island of the same name.

3 Aypıaviou: for the problems of the Coan calendar see Paton and Hicks, Inscriptions of Cos and Calymnus, pp. 329 seqq. This passage shows that Agrianius partly coincided with June in A.D. 323 . The gap after it seems hardly big enough to have held a letter/figure in this largish hand.

4 A $A \rho \tau \epsilon \mu \nu \nu_{i c}$ not in $N B$ or Pape.
ä $\delta \omega \kappa \alpha$ : the errors of spelling are all of well-known phonetic kinds and may be covered by a general reference to Mayser's Grammatik, vol. i.

 as an example of colloquial co-ordination in place of conditional subordination. This example and the
 The analogy of the Latin vel . . vel, where vel is supposed to be an old imperative of volo, might lead one to suppose that they were independent subjunctives of command, cf. Horn, Subjunctive and Optative, Pp. 120-3. (I owe to the O.U.P. reader the reference to another passage (Epiph. haer. 73, 35) with a very similar usage. quoted in the Patristic Greek Lexiconı, s.v. $\theta$ éd $\omega$ III.)
$7[\Theta] \epsilon \circ \delta \omega \dot{\omega} \rho a\langle\nu\rangle$ : there is not room for $[K \lambda] \epsilon o \delta \dot{\omega} \rho \alpha \nu$. Other possibilities, Bıo $\omega^{\prime} \rho a$ and $\Delta \iota o \delta \omega \dot{\omega} \alpha$ (see Dornseiff-Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen), are excluded by the trace.
 it suits the fairly extensive remains too well to be omitted.

II It is not certain that this is the subscription, but Aurelius or Aurelia is virtually certain and there seems to be no other good reason either for the repetition of the names of the parties or for the entrance of another character. For possible subscription formulas see $\mathbf{1 4 2 3}$ 12, P. Lips. 38, 7, P. Lond. ii. 233, I4, all different.

Verso. This endorsement in large cursive runs downwards along the fibres close to the righthand edge. It was done, I think, by a more expert hand than the writing of the recto, but this impression, based on the more formal style, may be wrong. In the left corner across the fibres there is another endorsement of two short lines in a small and rapid cursive, which has suffered damage from abrasion and worms. I have failed to read it. This too seems to me too expert for the writer of the recto. It is more difficult to decide whether it could be by the same writer as the other endorsement, but I think that there were three people at work.

## 2772. Instructions to a Banker

$$
1 \mathrm{I} .5 \times \mathrm{I} 2.5 \mathrm{~cm} . \quad \text { A.D. } \mathrm{IO} / \mathrm{II} \text { ? }
$$

The writer of this note had a Roman nomen and used the Roman alphabet, but the Greek language. Transliteration was a stage in the learning of a second language, as is shown by the Greek-Latin glossaries in the script of one or other language $\left(\mathbf{2 6 6 0}, \mathbf{2 6 6 0}(a)\right.$, Pack $\left.^{2} 3003-5\right)$. PSI 743 (CPL 69), a transliteration of a conversation between Alexander and the gymnosophists, may have had some educational aim also, but that seems hardly likely here, and I can offer no explanation that I think likely. A similar case is SB $6304\left(=F I R A\right.$, Negotia ${ }_{134}$ ), a Latin sale the body of which is written in the Greek alphabet. ${ }^{\text { }}$

[^3]Though there are wrong aspirations (ARPOCHRATIONI 3, H?]ENACOSIAS 5) and one abnormal usage (ETOS 6 n.), the Greek is good. The conventions of transliteration are consistent. Greek ov is represented by V (IVLIOS i, ARGYRIV 4), o七 by OE (MOE 2 ), ac by AE (CHAEREIN 2 , CAESAROS 7), and $v$ by Y (COLLYBISTE I, 3, ARGYRIV 4).

Punctuation is provided liberally between the words in the form of a middle stop. Once or twice it is missing inside the lines. At the ends it never occurs though every line ends with a word end.

On the back there is one letter only, a Greek alpha, upside down in relation to the writing on the front, about 1.5 cm . below the middle of the top edge on its own side.

```
    JIVLIOS • LEPOS ARCHIBIO - COLLYBISTE
        CHAEREIN • POESON • MOE · PARA
        ARPOCHRATIONI • COLLYBISTE
        ARGYRIVV - DRACHMAS - CHILIAS
        .]ENACOSIAS • PENTECONTA
        TREI]S}\cdot G(INONTAE) DR(ACHMAE) MCMLIII [`] ETỌ
        XL [] CAESAROS • PACHON · III
```

    5
    'Julius Lepos to Archibius the banker greeting. Pay to my account with Harpochration the banker one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three drachmas of silver. Total, I,953 dr. Year 40 of Caesar, Pachon 3.'

I The left edge here is not the original one, so that there may also have been a praenomen, particularly if it was represented by an abbreviation, as they so commonly are.

Lepos is known only as the name of a dancer in Hor. Sat. ii 6,72 . It is possible, though not remotely likely, that this is the same person about forty years older. He is described in the scholia of Pseudacron as 'grati Caesari' and might have acquired the Roman citizenship from Augustus with the names C. Julius.

After LEPOS the dot that divides the words is not detectable and was more probably omitted than rubbed away.

COLLYBISTE. Once only in $W B$ from P. Petr. iii 59 (a) 7 , ко $\lambda \lambda]$ ypıctai.
${ }_{2}$ POESON = $\begin{aligned} \text { óncov. The Attic form is common in the papyri, see } W B \text {, which cites P. Fay. }\end{aligned}$ 87,3 (of A.D. 115) for $\pi 0 \iota \epsilon \hat{\nu}=$ 'pay', but this is a rare usage.

5 . JENACOSIAS. Nothing is required, but indentation is unlikely. Perhaps it was written HJENACOSIAS with the wrong aspiration, cf. ARPOCHRATIONI 3, and HENATON for évacov in PSI 743, I3. See Mayser, i $199-203$ for many examples in ordinary Greek owing to the gradual disappearance of the rough breathing.

6 G(INONTAE) DR(ACHMAE). There is a space and there may have been a dot after G. After DR there is neither and the right leg of R cuts into the following M .
MCMLIII. The symbol for 1,000 is not like the M in MOE (2) and DRACHMAS (4), but is a rounded version. For the shape of it cf. Ch.L.A. iii no. 208 ii 2 , iii 29.

ETỌS. ${ }^{\text {Ë Tove }}$ is the appropriate form in this sort of context; ; $\bar{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon$ is also found in the Ptolemaic period, but I cannot find another example of the accusative in a regnal year dating. ETVS as a reading is much less likely than ETOQS. The letter is undamaged but oddly written. For the form of 0 here and elsewhere in the document but especially in CAESAROS and PACHON (7), cf. Mallon, Pal. Rom. 66 (p. 38).

7 XL. Feet only are visible but the foot of L is very appropriate, sloping down at a shallow angle under the beginning of the next word. $X$ depends very much on the correctness of $L$, but the trace is appropriate to the lower left arm of X . $\mathrm{XL}[\mathrm{I} \cdot]$ might be possible.

## 2773. Loan of Money in Return for Use of a Weaver's Loom $7.0 \times 28.8 \mathrm{~cm}$. $\quad 15$ November, A.D. 82

Fragment of a loan in which the use of a weaver's loom is conceded by the debtors instead of the payment of interest. The debtors, two brothers, are referred to in the singular and in the plural alternatively. To judge from 1.38 it seems that one of them acted for both at the moment of writing the contract and that therefore he only handed over the loom (cf. io) whereas the arrangements for the return of the debt concerned both brothers and thus are put forward in the plural (cf. 5 seq.; ri, r7, $\left.20 \mathrm{seq} . ; 25,29-3^{1}\right)$. The surface of the papyrus is much damaged.





 $\tau \hat{\eta} \subset \pi \rho \alpha ́ \xi \xi \epsilon \omega ́ c$ co九 ov̉cŋс
 $\mu \bar{\omega} \varphi$ aip $\hat{\eta} \kappa \alpha i \notin \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \tau \pi \alpha \rho-$ $\chi o ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ ض̀ $\mu \in \underline{i ̣} \nu \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \varphi$.



 $\mu \eta$ (vòc) Nє́ov Cєßасто仑 ц! $\theta$.




 кєфалє́оч каi ảтоб $\omega^{-}$ $с \omega \mu \in \nu \epsilon \xi \alpha \ldots .$. $\dot{\varphi} \subset \pi \rho o ̣ ̂ \kappa \iota \tau \alpha$. (ётоис) $\beta$ Айтокра́торос
Kaícapọ $\Delta \stackrel{\rho}{[\mu \tau \tau \iota \alpha \nu o \hat{v}}$
$C_{\epsilon} \beta a c[\tau 0 \hat{v} \mu \eta(v o ̀ c) N \epsilon \prime o v$
$C_{\epsilon} \beta \alpha \subset \tau[o \hat{v} \iota \theta(?)]$

'Heracles and Ptollas, both sons of Ptolemaeus, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Persians of the Epigone, to Diogas, son of Heracleus, greeting. We receive from you from hand to hand out of your house i2 drachmas of silver of imperial coinage as the principal and instead of the interest on them I concede you the use of a weaver's loom which we possess measuring 3 cubits less 2 palms, comprising 2 rollers, 2 beams and I . . ., for 6 months from the present day after which we shall give you back the 12 drachmas of silver without any delay. If we do not repay according to what has been written, we shall pay you these drachmas with a penalty of one half and with the interest. On the return of the money you will give us the weaver's loom in good order except for wear and tear ;
we are mutual sureties for the repayment. You have the right of execution upon us and whichever you choose of us and upon all our property. The contract is valid wherever presented. In the and year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, in the month Neos Sebastos, ryth.

I, Heracles, son of Ptolemaeus, receive with my brother for the use of a weaver's loom I2 drachmas of silver as the principal and we shall return it . . . as said above. In the and year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, month of Neos Sebastos . . .'

I2 seqq. Cf. 264 (54) 3-5 on a similar description of a weaver's loom, and E. Wipszycka, L'Industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine (1965), pp. 52 seqq. on looms in general. The part which is called $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \mu \eta \eta$ тov in 1. I 4 is not known otherwise. The word may be connected with $\mu$ íroc.



## 2774. Loan of Money

$16.3 \times 10.8 \mathrm{~cm}$.
A.D. 129

Agathodaemon son of Diogenes acknowledges to Pausanias son of Sarapion that he has received a loan of one talent and 1,500 drachmae of silver imperial money for one year, from Hathyr to Phaophi, at interest of 6 per cent per annum.




5 vоріссатос $\delta \rho а \chi \mu$ е́с єттакисхıлі́ас тєутакосіас


 بß єiccọ́yтос $\mu \eta \nu o ̀ c ~ A \theta \grave{v} \rho \tau о \hat{v}$ є̀vєєт $\hat{\tau} \tau о с ~ \tau \epsilon с с а р є с к а \iota \delta є к а ́ т о v ~$



 тò $\pi \rho[0] \kappa[\epsilon i \mu] \epsilon \nu o \nu \kappa \epsilon[\phi a ́] \lambda \alpha[\omega \nu] \mu \in \theta^{\prime}[\dot{\eta}] \mu \mu[\omega \lambda i] a[c$

'Agathodaemon son of Diogenes son of Theon of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althean deme, to Pausanias son of Sarapion son of Sarapion, his mother being Apollonous from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you, hand to hand out of your house, a sum of 7,500 drachmae of silver imperial coin which are I talent and I,500 drachmae, total one talent and I,500 drachmae, to which nothing has been added at all, at the interest of 3 obols for each mina per month dating from the coming month Hathyr of the current I4th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. These

I will repay you without any delay on the 3oth Phaophi of the coming I5th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. If I do not repay you in accordance with the agreement, I will forfeit to you the aforesaid sum with the addition of one half . . .'

2 Пavcaviac Capamíwvoc tov̂ Capamicuvoc: so far as the date goes, this Pausanias might be identified with Pausanias (6), son of Sarapion, in the family reconstructed by Turner JEA 38 (1952) 86 seq.; the mother and grandfather would be new. For another addition to this family, see 2793. 3-4 below.

8 то́кои трıюßодєiov: cf. A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. $45^{\circ}$.

## 2775. Acknowledgement of a Loan of Wheat for Sowing

$$
15.5 \times 15 \mathrm{~cm} . \quad \text { Late third century }
$$

Acknowledgement of a loan of wheat for sowing, in two columns of which col. i on the left-hand side has 23 complete lines except for the first three which are damaged, col. ii only the beginnings of 23 lines. Both are mutilated at the foot. The two columns
 col. i contains a complete text and col. ii begins another. Since the text of col. ii seems too long to be an abstract of the acknowledgement and the lines could be similar to those of col. i, the two columns are assumed to be identical and the deed to have been written in duplicate on a single sheet, as in $\mathbf{9 8 8}, \mathbf{1 0 4 0}$, and P. Mich. 423, 424. Only col. i is printed. The underlining shows what is preserved in the line-beginners of col. ii.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Av̀ } \bar{\eta} \lambda \iota o \iota ~ T o u ́ \rho[\beta \omega \nu \text { каi . . .]ac à } \mu \text { фó- }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { а̇пò к } \omega \mu \eta[c \quad \kappa] a \tau \alpha \mu \epsilon ́ \nu о \nu-
\end{aligned}
$$

Aù $\eta \lambda^{\prime} \omega \stackrel{\omega}{\omega}$ Ma $\grave{\mu} \omega$ Сарâтос траүна-
$\tau \epsilon v \tau \hat{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu \not{ }^{\prime} \not \mu \mu \omega \nu i ́ \omega v o c$

ха́ $\rho \epsilon \iota \nu$. $\delta \mu о \lambda о \gamma о \bar{\mu} \mu \epsilon \nu$ ò $\phi \epsilon i \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu$
coı äc éčооєь єic 入óरov катасто-



ऽ ( $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota) ~ \dot{a} \pi o ̀ ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \eta \dot{\mu} \mu a \tau o c ~ \tau o \hat{v} \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \theta o ́ v \tau o c$

'Aurelii Tour[bon and ...] as both sons of Aysi[rion, their mother being Si]nthonis of the village of [ ] and living in thefarm stead formerly of the priests to Aurelius Maximus son of Saras the agent of the estates formerly of Ammonion now of the most sacred treasury, greeting. We acknowledge that we owe you what we have received from you, on the one hand 29 artabae from the production of the year before last, which is the 4th year, for the sowing of last year, which is the 5th year, on the other hand I8 artabae of the production of last year the 5th for the sowing of the present 6th year. These are 47 artabae for which we promise to pay interest at the same rate as will be imposed on the other farmers of this same farmstead. We will deliver these to you in the month of Payni at the threshing-floor of the farmstead, in new, pure, unadulterated, sifted wheat, without earth or barley, by the same measure with which we received. . .'
 for the upright and long downward stroke of $\rho$ rather than for the somewhat sloping iota. The names which begin with Tovp[ are not numerous: Toú $\beta \beta$ oc, Touppávoc, Toúp $\beta \omega v$ only. Tovppávoc is too long for the space, Toúp $\beta o c$ is not a usual name at Oxyrhynchus, but Touv $\rho \omega \omega \nu$ is met there (1663). If there is a кai between the names there are about 3 letters for that of the second brother. There are various names which would fit for the name of the second brother such as $\left.\left.\left.M e \lambda]] a c, C_{\epsilon i}{ }^{\top}\right] a c, C_{\omega \tau}\right] \hat{a},{ }^{[ } E_{\rho \mu} \mu\right] \hat{a} c$, $B \eta c] \bar{a} c, C_{a \rho]} \bar{a} c$ etc. The name of the father is written avcu. [to which I have found no parallel. $A v \bar{v} \mu \hat{\eta}-$ фuc (not met at Oxyrhynchus) does not fit the letters. Possibly, in spite of the trema, one should restore $\langle\Pi\rangle$ avce $\rho[i \omega v o c$, a frequent name at $O x y r h y n c h u s$. If so, the space left in the lacuna does not
 If the suggestion about names is right, the second brother's name is likely to be Cap]âc. The name Capâc is met as a son of Пavcipicuv and his mother is Cıvөิिvc in 1638, A.D. 282.
 a траүиaтєuт
 (year 6), both from Nemesammon. The mention of Ammonion identifies our man with Maximus (a); and the dating to a sixth year ( I 2 seq.) suggests identification with Maximus (b). The years 5 and 6 will be those of Aurelian or Probus. The only thing against this is $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{i} \dot{v} \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ in 1544 , which led Grenfell and Hunt to choose a date not earlier than Diocletian. But in Rech. de Pap. iii 62 no. 8 1. 5 (cf. 93 seq.) the phrase seems to reflect the uncertainty around the time of Aurelian's accession.

There is no necessity to identify this Ammonion with the кра́тıcтoc Ammonios (1412 introd.).

If so, 2775 should be later than A.D. 285 , but its date, the 6 th year ( $\mathrm{I}_{2}-\mathrm{I} 3$ ), can hardly be that of Diocletian $=$ A.D. 289/90 since it is expressed by a single figure, not '6th and 5th'.
i6 $\delta \iota a ́ \phi \circ \rho \circ \nu=$ 'interest', тóкос, cf. 1474 4, 1040 го, $\mathbf{1 0 4 2}$ 28, etc., N. Lewis, T AP $A$ lxxvi (i945), pp. 126 seqq.

23 The mutilated part may be similar to 1040 I 6 seqq.

> 2776. LEASE OF LAND
> $10.8 \times 7.5 \mathrm{~cm}$
A.D. 119

Part of a lease of land, mutilated at the upper and lower edges.

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|  | - . - . - . - . - |

'Sarapion son of . . . from the city of the Oxyrhynchi has leased to . . . son of . . . also from the same city of the Oxyrhynchi, Persian of the epigone, for two years dating from the present third year of our lord Hadrian Caesar, $9 \frac{1}{2}$ arourae from the land belonging to his wife Ammonous, daughter of Pausiris, near Sko, from the holding of Antigonus. For the first year, the lessee is to sow the land with aracus at a rent of two artabae of wheat per aroura. In the second year, the lessee is to sow the land with wheat at a rent of ten artabae of wheat per aroura. (The lessor has also leased) one aroura of the holding of Theodorus and Aulacus in joint lot, on terms that the lessee sow it with wheat in the first year at a rent of . . .'

I Cap $[a \pi]\langle\varphi[\nu$ : the letters $a$ and $\rho$ are the only certain ones.
8 Avtcyóvou (кגरิрос): not found before in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The holding might have
 Avriyovoc (SB 9604 i, A.D. 62, Elephantine) who was living outside Oxyrhynchus.

II The rental of ten artabae per aroura in the first half of the second cent. A.D. was a very high and profitable one. The average rental between A.D. 100 and 150 was $c .63$ artabae (cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 8I seqq., P. Mert. 68, note 1. 15).
 rhynchus one and a half centuries later 2137 16-17 (A.D. 266). The proper name Avidaioc has not been met previously at Oxyrhynchus. The title Theodorus may derive from the person who had a holding in Oxyrhynchus about three and a half centuries earlier: $\kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o c \Theta_{\epsilon \sigma \delta \dot{\omega} \rho o v}$ (P. Hib. II8, 3, $25^{\circ}$ B.c.).

## 2777. Sale of a Slave

$23 \times 17 \mathrm{~cm}$. 4 March, A.D. 212 (?)
A contract of sale of the slave Thonis who is also called Epagathus, aged ig years, for 1,600 drachmae of imperial silver coin. The deed is of the usual form.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \Phi_{a \mu \epsilon \nu \dot{\omega} \theta} \bar{\eta} \bar{\epsilon} v{ }^{\prime} O \xi v \rho v^{\prime} \gamma \chi \omega \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \delta \in \xi \iota a ̂ c ~ \chi \epsilon \iota \rho o ̀ c ~ \chi \omega \rho i с ~ к и р i o v ~ \chi р \eta \mu а \tau \iota \zeta о и ́-~
\end{aligned}
$$

$\tau \hat{\eta} \subset C_{\tau а \tau \omega \rho i a c ~} \Phi[\imath] \lambda o \xi \in ́ \in v a c ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \delta o u ̂ \lambda o v ~$
$\Theta \hat{\omega} \nu \iota \nu \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \kappa \alpha i ̂ ~ ' E \pi a ́ \gamma a \theta o v ~ \tau o u ̂ \tau o \nu ~ \tau o ぃ o ̂ ̀-~-~$

$$
\complement_{\tau \alpha \tau \omega \rho i ́ a ~} \Phi_{i \lambda o ́ \xi \epsilon \nu \alpha} \tau \grave{o} \nu a u ̉ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \delta o \hat{v}-
$$



'The [twentieth (?)] year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Parthicus maximus Britannicus maximus Pius Augustus, Artemisius which is Phamenoth 8, in the city of Oxyrhynchus, before Dorotheon and his fellow supervisor of the office of the agoranomoi. Lucius Valerius Severus also called Melas, aged about 44 years with a scar in the middle of his nose, has purchased in the street, from Statoria Philoxena aged about 50 with a scar on the wrist of her right hand, acting without guardian according to Roman custom by the ius liberorum, the male house-born slave belonging to her, Thonis, also called Epagathus, aged about I9, with a slight squint and a scar on his forehead, his mother being the slave Isidora. Thonis was examined by Didymus the strategus of the nome in the present month in consequence of applications for examination which the purchaser presented to him, of which the same purchaser received a single copy endorsed by the strategus. The purchaser has forthwith received from Statoria Philoxena the slave Thonis also called Epagathus, just as he is, and unrenounceable, free from epilepsy and eruption (?), and the price mutually agreed upon of this same slave Thonis also called Epagathus, 1,600 drachmae of silver of imperial coinage, has been received in full on the spot by Statoria Philoxena from the purchaser Severus also called Melas. Statoria sells and guarantees the said slave as aforesaid, in the same street . . .'

I Probably [(є̌̃ovc) к ]. The line may have begun in ecthesis. The restoration of the date depends on three considerations: (a) Caracalla's sole reign begins with his igth year; (b) the honorific Germanicus, first attested for year 2I after the German expedition of 213, is absent here (as also in BGU 356, year 22) ; (c) the strategus Didymus (line I6) is attested by SB Io275 (no date), 2341 (A.D. ${ }^{208}$ ), and 125926 (A.D. 2II/I2) ; the strategus Aur. Anubion is already in office in 212 ( 1196 I, PSI 1329. г, SB 7988. і).
 18I, A.D. 234, etc. It indicates that the deed is a $\delta \eta \mu o{ }^{\prime} \iota \iota o<\chi \rho \eta \mu a \tau \iota c \mu o ́ c$ (cf. Taubenschlag, Law, pp. 175-6, and n. 26).
 guardian, does not mention that she is é $\pi \iota c \tau a \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta$ (or $\epsilon i \delta v i \hat{a}) ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \mu \mu a \tau a$. It is unknown whether she is $\dot{a} \gamma \rho \dot{a} \mu \mu a \tau o c$ or $\mu \dot{\eta}$ єídvia $\gamma \rho \dot{\alpha} \mu \mu a \tau a$ since the papyrus is mutilated at the bottom.
 Stud. Pal. xx 7 I , xxii 60 , P. Ross. Georg. iii 27 (which are given by E. P. Wegener, JJP ix-x, p. IO5), that the strategus of the nome was the official who was responsible for the inspection in the chora (cf. Kühn, Antinoopolis, pp. 143 seq.). For the procedure see P. Herm. Rees 18.

I6 $\Delta \downarrow \delta[ט ́] \mu o v:$ cf. Henne, Liste des stratèges, p. 3 ( $\mathbf{1 2 5 9 )}$; Mussies, P. Lugd. Bat. xiv p. 26 No. 277 (2341). Add SB 10275.

33 The mutilated part is likely to be similar to PSI I82, 29 seqq.; 120928 seqq.

## 2778. Memorandum

$22 \times 12.8 \mathrm{~cm}$. Second or third century
The papyrus was used at first for an account which was written along the fibres. A part of the papyrus was cut and this memorandum was written on the other side across the fibres.

|  |  |
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|  |  |
|  | ov̉火 $\eta^{\prime} \theta \epsilon \lambda^{\prime} \eta<\alpha \nu \nu \epsilon \tau \alpha \phi \epsilon \in \epsilon \epsilon \nu$ |
| 5 |  |
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|  |  |
| 10 |  |
|  | $\nu \epsilon \chi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota \pi \rho o ̀ c \tau \grave{\eta}\langle\nu\rangle$ vú $\rho \alpha\langle\nu\rangle \tau o \hat{v} N_{\epsilon}$ - |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 15 |  |
|  |  |
|  |  <br>  |
|  | $\tau \iota \nu$ ¢о єтоцноข єсть้ парадо- |
|  |  |
| 20 | кта兀. |

'The farmers of Aspheus have the wheat ready. The private donkey-drivers did not want to transport the brick saying that the custom is to be given barley for their donkeys. Thirty thousand (bricks?) are being made ready for the Igth. If you wish a part of the thirty thousand or even the thirty thousand to be carried by the donkey-drivers of the village to the gate of the (village of) Neophytou, (they) will be transported at a rate of 28 drachmae. If you want, a branch of the acanthus can be cut for the two water-wheels since the two new naves of wheels are laid aside. The vegetables of Erythis (or -eus) and of Lyson for the I3th will be ready to be delivered tomorrow which is the 14 th. The (receipt for the) deposit of 20 (artabae) has been rolled up with this letter.'

I $A c \phi \iota c$ or $A \subset \phi \epsilon v<$ are names of persons. An $\# \wedge \subset \phi \in v c$ is met as a member of a guild of cloth dealers in 2230 2, A.D. II9.

8-9 $\delta \iota^{\prime}$ obv $\bar{\lambda} a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\eta}<\kappa \dot{\omega} \mu \eta<$ : the $\delta \eta \mu o ́ c \iota \alpha \kappa \tau \eta{ }^{\nu} \nu \eta$ were owned by the villages from the 3 rd cent. A.D. (P. Leipz. 85-6). The scribe of this document offers to use both the private (1.3) as well as the public donkey-drivers; he does not seem to be an official concerned with public transportation such as the
sitologus, and may be an official on an estate (cf. E. R. Wolfe, TAPA lxxxiii (1952), pp. 89 seqq.). For the ỏp ${ }^{\prime} \lambda$ ázaı see Oertel, Liturgie, pp. 116 seqq.; P. Thead. 29.

II $N \epsilon$ ó $\langle u \tau o c$ is met as a locality near Oxyrhynchus (cf. H. Cadell on P. Sorbonne 60, 4 n., A.D. v). $\theta v ́ \rho a$ as 'gate of the city' is rarely used in the meaning of $\pi v i \lambda \eta$. It might mean a lock on a canal.
 ${ }^{\prime} E \rho v \theta \epsilon v$ ' is attested but the beta needs explanation. Since the scribe says (11. 17-18) 'tomorrow which is the I4th' one may expect that he intended to say that the vegetables were over-due and that they ought to be ready on the 13th. Perhaps then he made an error in the date, wrote it $\bar{\iota}$, and on discovering the error inserted $\Gamma$ under the line and left the beta without crossing it out.

## 2779. Receipt for an Axle of a Water-wheel

$20.4 \times 30.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.
30 December, A.D. 530
This papyrus follows a well-known pattern, cf. 2244 introd. and the papyri quoted there, P. Med. 64, 2724. The text belongs to the Apion archive.
 ïv (七ктíovoc) $\theta$


















20


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (3rd hand) } \text { * di emu ..... eteliothe .. } T \hat{v}(\beta \iota) \delta i\left(\nu \delta \iota \kappa \text { тiovoc) } \theta^{\prime}\right.
\end{aligned}
$$




'In the consulship of Fl. Orestes and Fl. Lampadius the most illustrious, Tybi 4th, 9th indiction. To Fl. Strategius the all-honoured and most famous consular, dux and patrician, now being chief of the city of the Heracleopolites and of this illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas the steward, managing and acting as agent for his master, the said most magnificent man, from Aurelius Epimachus also called Apima, son of Phoibammon and Termouthia, from the hamlet of Panguleeion, a holding of your magnificence in the Oxyrhynchite nome, registered farmer, greeting. Having now had occasion to require one axle for the landowner's water-wheel, which is called 'Five Arourai' and supplies water to vine-land and arable land, I went up to the city and asked your magnificence to order the said axle to be provided for me. And at once your magnificence having regard to the state of your property gave me the said axle through Moison, the steward of the said most magnificent man, a new one, serviceable, suitable for irrigation and satisfactory. I received it as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is Tybi 4 th of the current 207 th year, which is also the 176th year, of the present gth indiction, for the irrigation of the roth epinemesis. The old axle was brought in and given to the noble household of the landowner. In declaration of the receipt I have made this deed which is valid written as a single copy and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Epimachus, son of Phoibammon, the aforesaid, have made this seed, having received the new axle and all suits me as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Menas, son of the late Theodorus, wrote for him on request as he is illiterate.' 'Completed by me . . . Tybi 4, 9th indiction, 423.'
(Verso) 'Deed of Epimachus, son of Phoibammon, from the hamlet of Panguleeion for the receipt of one axle.'
2 Fl. Strategius is Strategius I. Cf. 1983 (535) 2-4 on the titles and offices of Strategius I.
4 Men of the name Menas as oiketai of this family are known from papyri from the end of the 5 th century and throughout the 6th century; 'the position was probably held by successive members of the family' (Hardy, Large Estates, p. 84).

6 Aurelius Epimachus also called Apima is not mentioned anywhere else.
io Cf., e.g., 2244 (vi/vii) on other names of watering machines, two of them also being compositions with the word arourai ( $16 \dot{\epsilon} \pi \tau \alpha a \rho o v \rho i ́ a, ~ 48 \dot{\epsilon} \xi \kappa \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha a \rho o v \rho i a)$.

Ig The years refer to the eras of Oxyrhynchus which were occasionally in use right down to the Arabic period (cf. 1632 g n.).

2780. Receipt for the Salary of a údoomápoxoc
$13.0 \times 30.5 \mathrm{~cm}$.
16 July, A.D. 553
The term of address to Fl. Gabrielia and the formula of the receipt follow the general practice of Byzantine times, cf., e.g., 1992 (572), 1892 (581). On vípoтá $\rho о \chi о с$ see BASP V ( 1968 ) ioi seq.
$+\beta \alpha c[\iota \lambda]$ íac то仑̂ $\theta \epsilon \iota o \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau о v$ каi $\epsilon \dot{\jmath} \subset \epsilon \beta(\epsilon \subset \tau \alpha ́ \tau o v)$
$\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\varphi}[\nu \delta] \epsilon \subset$ о́ттоv $\Phi \lambda($ aovíov ) 'Iovстıvıavô $\tau о \hat{v}$
 тò $\bar{\beta} \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \eta ̀ \nu$ v́тaтíav $\Phi \lambda$ (aovíov) Bacı $\lambda i o v$ тô

$\pi \alpha \tau \rho \iota \kappa i ́ a ~ \lambda а \chi о и ́ с \eta ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu}$ доүıстєíav каі
$\pi \rho о \epsilon \delta \rho i a v$ каі $\pi \alpha \tau \epsilon \rho i ́ a \nu ~ \tau а v ́ т \eta с ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \subset$
$\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \hat{a c}{ }^{\prime} O \xi v \rho v \gamma \chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega c$ ن́ $\pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho$



Xрıстофо́pov тov̂ aùтท̂c $\delta \iota a \delta o ́ \chi o v$



$\pi \alpha \rho \grave{\alpha} \tau \hat{\eta} \subset \dot{v} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta o \xi o ́ \tau \eta \tau \sigma c \frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \nu \tau \epsilon \hat{v} \theta \in \varphi$







$25 \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi o ́ \delta \epsilon \iota \xi(\iota \nu) \eta_{\eta}^{\prime \prime} \tau \iota \kappa v \rho(i ́ a)$ ov̂ca $\dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda(\hat{\eta}) \gamma \rho a \phi(\epsilon \hat{i} \subset \alpha)$






* di emu ïustu diakonu eteliothe'
$\dot{\cup} \pi[\grave{\epsilon} \rho] \mu!(c \theta o \hat{v}) \chi \rho(v \subset \circ \hat{v}) \varphi_{0}(\mu \iota c \mu a \tau i \omega v) \beta!\grave{\varrho}(\iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\omega})[\zeta v \gamma(\hat{\omega})$

4. ímartià II, 19, 29 l. doyıcteiac 25 l. є́ctiv 32 E. G. T.
'In the 27th year of the reign of our most god-like and pious master Fl. Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, and in the 12th year after the consulship of Fl. Basilius, the most illustrious, Epeiph 22 of the second indiction in the city of the Oxyrhynchites. To Fl. Gabrielia, the most honourable and magnificent patrician, who obtained the offices of logistes and prohedrus and father of the city of this illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, on behalf of the estate of Timagenes of noble memory in the fortunate logisteia of the second indiction through you, the most worshipful Christophorus, her deputy, Aurelius Timothy, water-supplier of the public bath of the same city, son of Paul. I agree that I have received from your honour now already on account of my salary for the first instalment of the fortunate logisteia of the 2 nd indiction 2 gold solidi on private standard otherwise . . . through the most admirable John, your honour's weigher, total 2 gold solidi on private standard, and for the security of your honour I have made this declaration for you, which is valid written as a single copy and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent. I, Aurelius Timothy, son of Paul, the aforesaid, have made this declaration having received the said 2 solidi on private standard on account of my salary for the first instalment of the logisteia of the and indiction and all is satisfactory to me as written above. I, . . ., son of . . ., wrote for him on request as he is illiterate.'
'Completed by me Justus, deacon.'
(Verso) 'Declaration made by Timothy, water-supplier, son of Paul, for (his) salary of 2 gold solidi on private standard.'

3 seq. The phrase roîc тó connecting the dating according to the emperor's name with that according to consuls seems to have been a speciality of Justinian's time only ; cf., e.g., 133 (550) $\mathbf{2 , 1 4 0}$ (550) 2, 2238 (551) 2,1895 (554) 2, 1965 (554) 2, 1970 (554) 4, 1980 (557) 3,125 (560) 2,1972 (560) 3. For the date cf. P. Cair. Masp. i 67094,3 n.

6 Fl. Gabrielia is not otherwise known. But she may be identical with the late Gabrielia, mother of Patricia, who are both mentioned in 2020 (late vi) 4I

7 seq. On the $\pi \rho o ́ \epsilon \delta \rho o c$, see Rouillard, L'administration civile 7 o seq.; on the $\lambda$ oyıcт $\dot{\prime} \mathrm{c}$ and $\pi a \tau \grave{\eta} \rho$ $\pi o ́ d \epsilon \omega c, J J P$ r-8 p. 94. The noun $\pi a r \epsilon \rho_{i}$ has appeared before only in Cod. Just. 10. 56 (55) I, again in connection with the doүuçєia. It is interesting to find all these offices held by a woman.

Io seq. Cf. 1887 (538) 2, 2016 (vi) 5, I3, and P. Warren 3 ( $\pm 530$ ) 2 seq. on the estate of Timagenes and P. Warren $3,2 \mathrm{nn}$. for a brief discussion of this and an oikoc of Theon and the different opinions among scholars about the meaning and importance of oîko in Byzantine times.

I3 seq., 22 Christophorus, Aurelius Timothy, and John are not otherwise known.
2I The reading of $\tau \omega$ is not certain, the letter after $\tau$ is clearly visible, but written in such a way that it looks either like a narrow $\omega$ or a wide-spread $a$. The gap might have contained a reference to another money standard which defined the balance of the private standard.

33 seq . Most letters of the verso are nearly invisible ; their restoration was possible only with regard to the recto.

## VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

## 2781. Letter of Sarapion to Sarapas

$9 \times 8.4 \mathrm{~cm}$.
Second century
On the verso, across the fibres, Sarapion, who was absent from home, wrote a letter to his son Sarapas. On the recto part of two columns of a census-list, prepared for taxation purposes (certain persons are described as $\dot{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \hat{i}$, cf. Wallace, Taxation, pp. 112 seqq.; 984, A.D. 82-97).



 ${ }^{13}$ є $\epsilon \rho \rho \hat{\omega} c \theta(a \iota) \epsilon \chi ้ \chi(о \mu \alpha \iota)$.
'Sarapion to Sarapas his son greeting. If you become in need of aracus before we return, go to Aphynchius the fruiterer and he will give you what you want. Do not neglect to winnow the grassseed for the service of the animals, take care to [secure] the hayloft and the store for the dates. I pray for your health.'

4 rovv, cf. 611, Horn, Subjunctive, p. 128.

## 2782. Letter of a Priest to a Priestess

This little letter throws some interesting light on Graeco-Roman religious practices in the Oxyrhynchite villages. The priest has the title of $i \in \rho \circ \phi \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \eta c$, the priestess
 whose temple in the village of Sinkepha is mentioned here and whose cult is implied by the priestly titles, was identified with Isis from the time of Herodotus (ii 59, 156), they suggest a Greek element in the rites. The list of sacrifices brings in other elements. The sacrifice for the emperors and their victory is Roman. That for the rise of the Nile is very localized; those for the increase of the crops and good weather are universal.

The letter is written on the verso of a document that quotes some official correspondence of the year A.D. 153/4. This can hardly help to date the letter very precisely, but the emperors referred to may be Marcus and Verus (A.D. 16I-9) or Marcus and Commodus (A.D. ${ }^{17} 6-80$ ), unless the words may be taken to mean emperors past and present.

$$
\epsilon^{\prime}[\rho] \rho \bar{\omega} c^{\prime} \theta^{\prime}(\alpha u) \in \ddot{\prime} \chi^{\prime} o^{\prime} \mu^{\prime}(\alpha u)
$$


'Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant, to the priestess who bears the basket in Nesmeimis, greeting. You will do well to go to Sinkepha to the temple of Demeter to perform the usual sacrifices on behalf of our lords the emperors and their victory and the rise of the Nile and the increase of the crops and the healthy balance of the climate. I pray for your health.'
$3 N \epsilon{ }^{7}$ янєiцєол. In the ävos toparchy, like Sinkepha, see, e.g., 1285 57, 65 . It is not clear whether the priestess of Nesmeimis was to go to Sinkepha because there was no one there to do the work or whether she was simply to join others in the festivities.

## 2783. Letter of Apollonius to Artemas

15/27 cm.
Third century
The unusually lively and forthright language of this letter is its main interest, especially the adaptation of an ancient proverb drawn from dicing (7n.). Another novelty is the first mention in Greek of an aùrouacípıc ( $=$-ápooc), presumably a maker of mechanical toys. The data about the prices of various sorts of olive oil are less helpful than might have been hoped because quantities are not specified and because the date can only be guessed from the handwriting.
$\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \beta a \lambda o ́ \mu \eta \nu$ à $\pi \grave{~} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho о v с, \kappa а \theta \grave{\omega c} \eta^{\eta} \theta_{\epsilon}-$






 каi тоиิто $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon i \rho \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho \omega ́ \tau \tau \omega \nu \cdot \epsilon i$ $\gamma$ à $\dot{a} \pi \alpha \rho \tau i \grave{\epsilon} \pi \pi i c \tau a c a i ́ ~ \mu o v ~ \tau \eta े \nu \gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu \eta \nu$,





 $\tau \hat{\eta} \subset$ Kóттоv ő $\tau \epsilon$ A $A \mu \omega \nu$ âc каì ó aủ $\tau о \mu \alpha-$ тápıc $A \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi a ̂ c ~ к а i ̀ ~ o i ~ a ̈ \lambda l o \iota ~ \pi a ́ \nu \tau \epsilon c ~ \delta u ́-~$ vacal ảкоиิсаь à ào $\tau о \hat{v}$ á $\delta \epsilon \lambda \phi$ ô cov oi סѐ $\tau \alpha ́ \mu \rho o \iota ~ c o v ~ o i ~ к а \tau \alpha ́ \rho a \tau o \iota ~ с \tau \rho \eta \nu \iota \omega ̂ ८ \iota ~$ $\kappa \alpha i ̀ \pi o \lambda \lambda \alpha ̀ ~ v i \pi \epsilon ̀ \rho ~ \alpha u ̀ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \pi \rho о \eta ̂ \lambda \theta \alpha ~ \chi \alpha ́ \rho \iota \nu$ cov̂• $\mathfrak{\epsilon}^{a}[\nu . . . . . . . .] ..[. ..] . . . .$.
 $\pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \gamma \rho a ́ \phi \iota \nu, \epsilon \in \rho \rho \hat{\omega} c \theta a i ́ c \epsilon\langle\epsilon u ้\rangle \chi o \mu a \iota$.


30 (Back) $A \rho \tau \epsilon \mu \hat{a} \pi(a \rho a ̀) A \pi o \lambda \lambda \omega \nu i o v$.

'Apollonius to Artemas, his brother, greeting. Before all I pray to all the gods that the best things in life may be yours. Just now I gave 500 drachmas to your brother, and to Ptolemaeus I have already made a part payment as he wished. But I am surprised that so much money went on olive oil. You threw (the proverbial) two sixes! For here oil from the Ammoniac Oasis costs 220 drachmas and from the Oasis (?) 200 drachmas. Therefore if you can buy to supply another need that can benefit us you will do well. You wrote to me that I am destroying you in your absence, and that worse than before. Yes, for if you (want to?) know my opinion just now, you ought not to be accounted a human being. On other occasions too I have written you that I did not detain Hermias' camel nor anyone
else＇s．If this is what you want me to write，I＇ll write（it）to you．For perhaps you don＇t read what I write to you．All that Ammonas and the automata－maker，Anthropas，and all the rest suffered here on account of the camels from（for？）Coptos，you can hear from your brother．Your cursed bulls are running wild and because of them I have appeared in court（？）several times，thanks to you．If ．．． I have ．．．．I shall tell you．So that you won＇t think that I＇m writing too much，I＇ll bid you farewell． ＇P．S．Your brother forced me to sell the blind one．＇
（Address）＇To Artemas from Apollonius．＇
$3 \tau \hat{\omega} \alpha \delta_{\epsilon} \lambda \phi \hat{\omega} \iota c o v$. Probably the bearer of the letter，see 19－23，where he is to relate more details to Artemas．

5 àmò $\mu$ épouc．Cf．BGU 1201， 15.
$7 \hat{\epsilon} \xi \mathrm{dic}$ ．Six is the highest throw with a single die．$\tau p i c \pi \xi$ is the highest throw in the game with three dice，see Fraenkel on Aesch．$A g$ ．33．Eustathius（ $I l .1083,67$ ）says that the ancients used three dice instead of two，so this passage appears to concern the highest throw in the later game with two dice．＇You have thrown two sixes＇would most easily mean＇You have had a great success＇，but the context hardly supports this．$\theta$ avpáb $\omega$ in papyrus letters generally means＇$I$ am unpleasantly sur－ prised＇，and $9-11$ seem to be asking Artemas to look for some other commodity to buy．I suggest，



 money in oil Artemas is taking the risk of a great loss because there are cheap supplies from elsewhere． Perhaps translate＇you have thrown（for ？）two sixes＇，implying that the result may be disastrous or， in dicing terms，two ones．
 from is not specified．Here it clearly is not from the Oasis of Ammon（Siwa）．The Little Oasis （Bahariya）is the one associated with Oxyrhynchus．Lists of the prices of oil can be found in A．C． Johnson，ESAR ii $3^{16-17}$ and Johnson and West，Byz．Econ．Studies，pp．18ı－2．
${ }^{21}$ aùronazápc．Cf．automatarius，Inscr．Orelli 4150 ，where the automata－maker is also a klepsy－ drarius．Hero of Alexandria＇s Automaticopoetica（ed．Teubn．）gives instructions for the making of these toys．

24 тáepoı．Presumably a nasalized version of the late（and Modern Greek）pronunciation of av as＇av＇，cf．Kapsomenakis，Vorunters．，p．II．The writer had difficulty with the nasal in グváүкасє， 29 n．
$25 \pi \rho o \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta a$ ．＇I appeared in court．＇This is the commonest meaning in the papyri，but perhaps

${ }_{27}$ Possibly the strong stop comes after ${ }_{\epsilon} \chi \chi \omega$ ，and $\dot{\epsilon} \rho \hat{\omega}$ coc begins the next sentence．＇I shall say to you，so as not to seem to write（too）much，＂I pray for your health．＂＇

29 rup入óv．An animal，I take it，perhaps a bull（24），or a camel（20）．
àv＇́касаи＝خ̈váүкксє；augment misplaced，as if the word were a compound with ává？；or aug－ ment omitted（Mayser，i 333）and $\eta$ for a（ibid．，p．62）？The nasal is dropped（ibid．，p．190）．A similar form à $\nu \dot{\gamma} \gamma к а с а \iota=\grave{\eta} \nu \dot{\gamma} \gamma \kappa а с \epsilon$ ，occurs in a University of Michigan thesis by Dr．Gerald M．Browne， shortly to be published as＇Documentary Papyri from the Michigan Collection＇（American Studies in Papyrology VI），No．5，II．The editor compares P．Brem． 38 II， 2563 2I－2 and P．Amh． 133 12．The last of these，à $\nu \eta \kappa$ áca $\mu \epsilon \nu$ ，is particularly close to the present one．

## 2784．Letter from Didymus

$\pi \lambda o i ̂ o v . ~ \delta i ̀ ̀ ~ \gamma \dot{a} \rho ~ \tau o v ̂ \tau o ~ \mu \dot{́} \chi \rho \iota ~ c \eta ́ \mu \epsilon \rho o \nu$
 $\kappa \omega ̂ \nu \chi$ о́ртоv aùтоîc є́ $\mu \beta a \lambda$ е́c $\theta a \iota$.
 $\delta \iota a \pi \epsilon \rho \hat{\alpha} c a \iota ~ a u ̀ \tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \rho a \beta о \lambda \epsilon v c \alpha ́-$

 $\dot{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \gamma \kappa \epsilon i ̂ v$ aự $\underset{\alpha}{\alpha} \epsilon v . \circ \ddot{o c} \cdot \kappa a ̈ \nu$

 $\pi \epsilon \pi о і ̈ \eta \kappa \alpha \nu$ ảmó̀ $\omega \nu \tau \alpha \iota$. $\mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota$


 $\chi \rho \iota \delta \iota а \kappa о[c] i \omega \nu \cdot \kappa a i$ öт $[a] \nu$ сvvтá$\xi \eta c \theta \epsilon \tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \lambda o \imath^{i}[\omega]$ cvv $\theta \in \epsilon \in \subset \theta \epsilon$ $\pi \rho o ̀ c ~ \tau o ̀ v \nu а u ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ \tau \epsilon ́ c c a \rho a c ~ с а \rho-~$







 є́ppôc $\theta a \iota ~ \dot{v} \mu a ̂ c$ єửо $\mu$ аи то入入оіَ $\chi \rho o ́ v o \iota c$.
'Didymus to Areius and Dionysius his sons greeting. We have been seriously set back because you neglected the matter of the ship. On account of this I did not send the cattle up till today for I was expecting that you would send the fodder for them, and now we did not find a ferry in order to pass them across (the river), but I have taken the risk and sent them to cross [by swimming?], even if Eu[n]oios (?) had managed properly to bring them. Nevertheless do your best to send a ship to us lest the . . . which they have made should be destroyed. Let the ship be of 150 artabas' burden, if that of Paesis is not coming or, if need be, even up to 200 artabas. When you agree on the ship, collect for the sailor four baskets of fodder in order to bring them to us for the transport charge, and
send also a bucket, and above all the small jar [measure?] which is in the bedroom and the big basket, and take care of the cattle until we come back. See, we (or you)... even a little fodder for them. I pray for your lasting health.'

9 код $\mu \beta \omega$ : i.e. код $\nu \beta \beta \hat{\varphi}$, 'by the act of swimming'? cf. Paus. ii 35, I. Faint traces above the line might be taken to suggest that an alteration to кодข $\mu \beta \hat{\omega \nu \tau a}$ was intended.

II Ev. oioc: this may be a third brother. Euvooioc? But the trema on the iota makes the diphthong in an awkward position.
$12 \pi[\lambda]$ oiov is not certain.

$15 \pi \epsilon \nu \tau \eta \eta^{\prime}<v \tau a$, sc. ג́ $\rho \tau a \beta \bar{\omega} \nu$. So also 18.
${ }_{2} 4 \beta$ ádov is a measure, cf. 1658, nn. I, 4.
26 тoic $\kappa \tau \hat{\eta} c \mathrm{i}$ is a later form for toîc $\kappa \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \epsilon \epsilon$, cf. P. Flor. 321, 47 n., A.D. iii.

## 2785. Christian Letter of Introduction

$$
8 \times 13.5 \mathrm{~cm} . \quad \text { Fourth century }
$$

This letter is written to a priest of Heracleopolis and may therefore be the sender's copy kept for reference in Oxyrhynchus. The inference is perhaps supported by the lack of an address on the back, but the letter may have been brought back to Oxyrhynchus even after it had served its purpose.

It is cast in a formula which recurs frequently, see Naldini, Cristianesimo, nos. 19, 20, 28, 29, 50, 94.

One of the persons recommended is a catechumen receiving instruction in Genesis. This may mean that he is at the beginning of his novitiate, because St. Augustine concluded his treatise De rudibus catechizandis with a specimen lecture covering the whole of Biblical history and beginning from the opening chapters of Genesis, but it is more natural to think that instruction began with the gospels and that this man had reached a more advanced stage.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \chi \alpha i ̂ \rho \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \nu \kappa(\nu \rho i ́) \omega \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \pi \eta \tau \dot{\epsilon} \pi \alpha ́ \pi \alpha \\
& \text { С } \omega \tau \alpha \pi \rho \epsilon \subset \beta(u ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon) \text { ` } Н р а к \lambda є ́ о и с ~ \\
& \pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ ~ с є \pi \rho о с а \gamma о \rho є \text { v́o } \mu є \text {. } \\
& \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \epsilon \in \lambda \phi \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu
\end{aligned}
$$

$\alpha \dot{\delta} \epsilon \lambda \phi$ оѝ $\dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \hat{i} \subset$ каi oí cùv
ŋ̊ $\mu \in i ̂ \nu \quad \pi \rho о с а \gamma о р є \cup ́ о \mu \in \nu$.
$\epsilon \dot{v} \chi o ́ \mu \epsilon \theta a, ~ a ̉ \gamma a \pi \eta-$
$\tau \grave{\epsilon} \pi \alpha ́ \pi \alpha$ с $\delta$
'Rejoice in the Lord, beloved father Sotas, priest of IIeracleopolis, we give you many greetings. Receive in peace our sister Taion who comes to you, and receive for edification a man who is being instructed in Genesis. Through them we and our companions greet you and our brothers with you. We pray for your health in the Lord, beloved father. 204.'

2 This Sotas is possibly the writer of 1492, who may also have written P.S.I. 208 and 1041. Cf. also P.S.I. 311 (Naldini, Cristianesimo, no. 39) 27, where a possible reading is àmódoc Cẃía Naldini, Docunenti di antichità cristiana, Tav. XXVI no. 46. Yet another possible Sotas is the one mentioned in P.S.I. 1412, io $\delta \iota\langle\dot{a}\rangle$ Cútov qov̂ $\chi \rho \eta c a 0[\ldots$.$] , who may have been a Christian. In an$ Oxyrhynchite order to arrest, now being prepared for publication by Mr. Parsons, the person to be arrested is described as a x $\chi \eta \subset c a v o v$. The only obvious solution is to interpret this as $X \rho \eta<\langle\tau\rangle$ avóv and restore P.S.I. 1412, io as $X \rho \eta \subset\langle\tau\rangle a[v 0 \hat{\jmath}]$. The spelling will be discussed in Mr. Parsons's edition of the new papyrus.
 beginning of the gospel'. But note that this does not refer to any specific reading material.

Before and after avoy there are distinct spaces while the rest of the document is written closely. Even though there is no change in the writing or the ink it is possible that avoy was added afterwards in a space left vacant for the man's name. Because $A v o c$ is not known to me as a name I have taken it that avop stands for $\overline{a v o v}$, the usual form for $a \check{a}(\theta \rho \omega \pi)$ ov as a nomen sacrum (Paap, Nomina Sacra, p. 105, cf. 88-9), supposing that the writer was for some reason unable to discover the man's name, but the absence of a mark of contraction, though paralleled (Paap, p. 105) leaves room for doubt. Alvooc exists as a name, see Pape, Eigennamen, and Foraboschi, Supplementum, s.v.

9 єic oiko $\delta o \mu \eta$ '. Probably metaphorical, 'for edification', see Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon, Bauer, WB z.N.T., s.v. This sense seems to be new in the papyri.
$15 \delta \delta$. The form of ciypa is that with a bowed foot which designates the number 200. It seems that this must be a Christian slogan written cryptically by taking the sum of the numbers represented by the letters in the same way as the well known of $=99=\dot{\alpha} \mu \eta^{\prime} \nu(\mathrm{I}+40+8+50=99)$, cf. 260134 n . There are other examples in F. Dornseiff, 'Das Alphabet in Mystik u. Magie', $\Sigma$ TOIXEIA vii (1922), pp. III seq., but 204 is not among them. 284 (cri) stands for $\theta$ tóc, ä äloc, and äratóc, but there is no particular reason to suppose that there is a mistake here.
2786. if $\times 10.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. First century. Private letter.


 written, last c cancelled) $\mu \in \theta^{\prime}$ ف̂̀ каi ${ }^{9}{ }_{\epsilon} \rho \rho \omega с о$. Пах $\grave{\omega}(\nu) \varsigma^{\prime}$.

Verso: ]X 'Loúctuı viciol.
$9 \pi a \chi$ pap.
'Sarapion to Justus his son, greeting. I sent you by Papiris 24 dr .2 ob., which you are to pay out on behalf of Hermes and Achilles; and you are to notify me of receipt of them. Greet brothers. Good wishes for your health and theirs. Pachon 6.'

Verso. ‘. . . to Justus, his son.'
2787. $12 \cdot 2 \times 16 \mathrm{~cm}$. Second century. Letter from Dionysius.




 ${ }^{16} \epsilon{ }_{\epsilon} \rho \rho^{\prime} \widehat{\omega}^{\prime}(c \theta a i) ~ c \epsilon \epsilon \cup ้ \chi(o \mu a \iota)$.

'Dionysius to T. . . his sister, greeting. Receive from (our?) father Chaeremon a mirror and the writing tablets and tunic of Tapsois. Greet the children and the people in the house. Chaeremon and the children greet you and Agathus greets you. . . . I pray for your health. Since the strategus has given me orders about this matter, let Ariston read you the document that was sent to him. I pray for your health.'

Verso. 'From Dionysius, surveyor (?) of Heracleopolis.'

$5 \delta \in \lambda \tau \alpha ́ p \iota o v ~ ' n o t e ', ~ P l u t . ~ C a t . ~ M i n . ~ 24 . ~$
2788. $6.5 \times$ I4 cm. Third century. A friendly private letter, broken only at the top.








' . . . to write to you to write back to me before all things about your health and whether the landowner has been troubling you. Also you are to look out for Sarmates' people coming here so that you may send me a letter by them about whatever you desire. I too, to speak with god's help, will come to you for the day of the festival. Greet Sarapion and (my?) son Valens and Serenilla and all those that love us by name. I was unable to send any word (or anything?) to you because of the situation along the way as you know yourselves. I pray for your health and strength.'

Margin. '. . . (of a?) pledge, because since Philoumene died I have not paid interest.'

9 cìv $\theta \epsilon \bar{\omega}$ dè фával: cf. P. Flor. 127, I ( $=$ Sel. Pap. i 140 ).
${ }^{17-19}$ The meaning is not clear; perhaps the sender alludes to some natural obstacle along the
 of the third-century revolts, or to brigands.

2 I ]évexúpou: probably genitive, but possibly the imperative of èvexupów.
On the custom of writing in the left margin cf. Ghedini, Lettere cristiane, p. 91, note on 11. 24-5.
2789. $10.6 \times 15.8 \mathrm{~cm}$. Third century. Two letters of Cleopatra, written across the fibres on one sheet of papyrus, the first to her father Epaphroditus (who is called $\pi a \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} \rho \mu o v$ also in 1o), the second to the builder Morus (called 'brother' 9). Both concern a delivery of 5 artabas of barley to Morus, so that a debt due to a dekaprotos can be settled as a matter of urgency. The back is blank.








4, II apraß' pap.
'Cleopatra to Epaphroditus her father, very many greetings. Make sure to measure out to Morus the builder five artabas of barley, since I am being pressed by the dekaprotos. For I am to be thrown into prison. See that you don't fail. I pray for your health.'
'Cleopatra to Morus her brother greeting. I wrote to my father Epaphroditus to measure out to you five artabas of barley so that you can settle the affair of the dekaprotos and from now on you will be competent in this matter. See that you don't fail. I pray for your health.'

## VIII．MINOR TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS

2790． $21.5 \times 10.5 \mathrm{~cm}$ ． 23 July 255， 30 September 257．Two horoscopes written along the fibres on the verso of accounts of $\dot{\epsilon}_{\chi} \theta^{\prime} \dot{\epsilon} \subset \in \tau$ ：these accounts are badly damaged， but we have the following dates：first year of Gordian $\left(23^{8}\right)$ and third year of the two Philips（ $245 / 6$ ）．The two texts，written one beside the other，are separated by a vertical line beginning and finishing with the symbol of $\kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} \rho \circ \subset T u ́ \chi \eta c$（cf．Bouché－Leclercq， L＇Astrologie grecque，p．288，n．r）．The hand，elegant and semi－literary，is of some palaeographical value since the text can be dated approximately．A second hand wrote in cursive the two words at the foot：$\theta \eta \lambda$ икои and $\dot{\alpha} \rho \rho \in \nu є к о \hat{u}$ ．

I am grateful to Professor Neugebauer for checking my calculations and making some helpful suggestions．

Col．i
＇$\Omega \rho$（оско́тос）$\Delta \iota \delta \dot{́} \mu$ оис
Aфроді́тך Мє́ovть

Kро́voс＇Удрпхо́ч
5 Zè̀c $\Delta$ írúpor
Ce入ウ́pŋ Toğótク
$K \lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o c T u ̛ \chi \eta c K \rho \iota \bar{\varphi}$

（2nd hd．） | خ $\lambda \kappa \kappa \hat{v}$ |
| :--- |

| Horoscope | Gemini | ii | Horoscope（？），Jupiter | Aries |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Venus | Leo |  | Saturn | Capricorn |
| Sun，Mercury，Mars | Libra |  | Mars，Sun，Mercury， | Leo |
| Saturn | Aquarius |  | Moon |  |
| Jupiter | Gemini |  | Venus | Gemini |
| Moon | Sagittarius |  | Lot of Fortune and Genius | Aries |
| Lot of Fortune （2nd hand）female | Aries |  | activity（？）．．． <br> （2ud |  |

Col．i．After 246 the positions given in the text for Saturn and Jupiter are possible between July 257 and January 258 （cf．Tuckerman，Planetary，lunar and solar positions）．For the other planets the positions according to the papyrus are as follows：

| Mars | （180 ${ }^{\circ}-210^{\circ}$ ） | from 30 Aug．to 9 Oct． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Venus | （ $\mathrm{I} 20^{\circ}-\mathrm{I} 50^{\circ}$ ） | from I3 Aug．to 6 Sept． |
| Mercury | （180 ${ }^{\circ}-210^{\circ}$ ） | from 4 Sept．to 30 Sept． |
| Sun | （180 ${ }^{\circ}-210^{\circ}$ ） | from 23 Sept．to 5 Oct． |
| Moon | （ $240^{\circ}-270^{\circ}$ ） | from $1 / 2$ Sept．to $4 / 5$ Sept．or from 29 Sept |

The positions of Venus and the Sun are incompatible. Therefore we have two possibilities of dating: (I) 5 Sept. 257 , about the 8 th hour of the night (if there is a mistake in the position of the Sun); (2) 30 Sept. 257 , about the 8 th hour of the night (if the mistake is in the position of Venus). Neugebauer suggests that the entry for Venus must be wrong because otherwise the $\kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o c ~ T u ́ \chi \eta c$ would also be wrong (cf. Greek Horoscopes, pp. 8 seqq.). Thus Venus should be not in Leo ( $120^{\circ}-150^{\circ}$ ) but in Virgo ( $150^{\circ}-180^{\circ}$ ). By exact modern computation the positions for 30 Sept., A.D. 257 would be :

| Venus | $180^{\circ}$ | Saturn | $323^{\circ}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| Sun | $187^{\circ}$ | Jupiter | $70^{\circ}$ |
| Mercury | $210^{\circ}$ | Moon | $\sim 251^{\circ}$ |
| Mars | $204^{\circ}$ |  |  |

8 I have found no parallels for this. Perhaps only the sex of the person whose horoscope it is?
Col. ii. It is impossible to find in Tuckerman's tables at a date reasonably close to $238 / 246$ a posi tion of Saturn-Jupiter which agrees with the text. If there is a difference of two degrees in our computation of Saturn and Jupiter with respect to that of the ancients we can date the horoscope to 23 July 255 , about the 8 th hour at night.

| Text |  |  | Computation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Horoscopos | (Aries) | $0^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$ | $359^{\circ}$ |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { Jupiter } \\ \text { Saturn }\end{array}\right\}$ | (Capricorn) | $270^{\circ}-300^{\circ}$ | $302{ }^{\circ}$ |
| Mars |  |  | $144{ }^{\circ}$ |
| Sun | (Leo) | $120^{\circ}-150^{\circ}$ | $119{ }^{\circ}$ |
| Mercury | (Leo) | 120 - 150 | $134{ }^{\circ}$ |
| Moon |  |  | $\sim{ }_{15}{ }^{\circ}$ |
| Venus | (Gemini) | $60^{\circ}-90^{\circ}$ | $76^{\circ}$ |

І $\check{\omega} \rho а=\dot{ш \rho о с к о ́ т о с, ~ c f . ~ 1564, ~} 4$ and 1565, 4.
$8 \xi$ has been corrected perhaps from $c$. The horoscope perhaps finishes with a short astrologica note: cf. Greek Horoscopes L6i VV86, 19.

9 Cf . Col. i 8 with note.
2791. $5.6 \times 2.7 \mathrm{~cm}$. Second century. One of the invitations to dinner often found at Oxyrhynchus (cf. Vandoni, Feste, pp. 129-3I), only the occasion of the dinner is new: a celebration for the birth of a child.

##  

'Diogenes invites you to dinner for the first birthday of his daughter in the Serapeum tomorrow which is Pachon 26 (? or 16), from the eighth hour onwards.'
$2 \pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \gamma \epsilon \downarrow \epsilon$ '́cov: only the form in the plural was documented up to now, as more usual for this type of substantive (cf. Mayser, II i 39).
$5 \tilde{\omega} \rho(a c)$ is written in the monogrammatic form frequent in these documents (cf. 21474 n .).
2792. $6.5 \times 4 \mathrm{~cm}$. Third century. This little slip, written in accordance with the usual style of invitations, finds a close parallel in 926 ( $=$ W. Chr. 486) : it seems evident that on the occasion of an epicrisis there were private celebrations.
 oiкíav ${ }^{5}$ à $\pi o ̀ ~ \check{\omega} \rho а с ~ \eta ' . ~$
'Horion invites you to the epicrisis of his son on the 15 th at his own house from the 8th hour onwards.'
2793. $8.5 \times 7.2 \mathrm{~cm}$. Second/third century. Receipt for transport costs given by Gaius Iulius Anthropas the agent of Ulpius Mygdonius to Sarapion alias Apollonianus son of Spartas.




'Gaius Julius Anthropas, agent of Ulpius Mygdonius, to Sarapion alias Apollonianus, son of Spartas, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, formerly surveyor of the Oasis of the Heptanomia (?), greeting. I declare that I have received from you the agreed transport charge . . .,
 easily into the known stemma (E. G. Turner, $J E A$ xxxviii 86 seqq.). Up till now persons called
 only for the right-hand branch.
 last letter of the line. At the beginning of l. 7 the traces occupy space for at most two letters, then comes a sigma and a sign resembling Z followed by xaipeiv. It is possible that the text should be written ' ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\prime} \epsilon^{\prime} \epsilon^{7} \varphi c$ and the following mark treated as a symbol or abbreviation. The whole phrase is naturally attached to the title of Sarapion.

The administrative relationship of the Oasis to the Oxyrhynchite nome has most recently been reviewed by D. Hagedorn, Ztschr. Pap. und Epigraphik i 2, pp. 134-7. We meet the érıcтpát $\eta \gamma 0$ oc



2794. $6 \times 5.3 \mathrm{~cm}$. Third century. List of supplies.
 $\kappa \tau \eta \nu i(\tau \eta) \bar{\alpha}{ }^{6} \gamma($ ivovтaı $) \kappa о() \delta^{-}$. After $\kappa$ in 6 the scribe has made a running loop, and continued the stroke below the line. ко( ) or $\kappa \rho(\quad)$ could both be understood, i.e. $\kappa o ́(\phi \iota \nu o \iota)$ (cf. P. Hib. 268) or кр (є́aтос 入íтраı).

'To the legionaries, r ; to the nomenclator, I ; [to the troopers, 4;] to the beneficiarius, I ; to the drover, r. Total 4....'
2795. $8.6 \times 21 \cdot 1 \mathrm{~cm}$. A.D. 250. Lease of land. Originally published (with translation and plate) by G. M. Browne in Bull. Am. Soc. Pap. iv 2 (1967), pp. 49-52.















 two traces of ink in mid line.
2796. 11.3 $\times 12.9 \mathrm{~cm}$. Late third or early fourth century. Account of expenditure on heating, possibly for the public baths. The sums appear to be the contributions of named officials (five of them gymnasiarchs or former gymnasiarchs).




'For fuel. I, Sarapion, son of Achillion, ex-gymnasiarch, have signed ; 600 dr . Sarapion, son of Philosophus, ex-gymnasiarch; 600 dr . Demetrianus, ex-gymnasiarch; 400 dr . Aelius Agathocles; 400 dr. Heirs of Didymus, ex-gymnasiarch ; . . . dr. Apollonius, son of Aeanis (?) ; . . dr. Leonides, ex-gymnasiarch ; 600 dr .'

2 In this line the entry $\gamma^{v^{\prime} \mu^{\prime}()} \operatorname{c} \epsilon \subset \eta \mu()$ is above the line and it is not clear whether it applies only to 1.2 or to the whole text.

3 Фi入ocóoov: for the interpretation as a name cf. 1497 I, A.D. 279, ó tov̂ $\Phi_{i} \lambda_{\text {ocódov, }} 1413$ 20, A.D.


II, I4) the article would have been expected here. It is possible that Sarapion is a brother of Severus and Epimachus in 1413.

 $\Delta i \delta v \mu$ ос $\mathfrak{\epsilon} \xi \eta \gamma \eta \tau\left[\epsilon v^{\prime}\right]$ cac P. Osl. iii III, 252 (cf. 205), A.D. 235 .
2797. $4.5 \times 11.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. Third/fourth century. This document, a list of articles for a sacrifice, is of a type already known (cf. 1211), but a point worth noting is the involvement of the beneficiarius (on whom see P. Cair. Isid. $6_{3}$ int. ; Lallemand, $L$ ' Administration civile, p. 74 and note 4) in the sacrifice. 1211, of the second century, is addressed to the strategus.



'For good fortune. To the beneficiarius, according to the custom of the sacrifice of the current month of Hathyr. Hens, 7 ; piglet, i ; eggs, 8 ; cones, 8 ; jars of wine, 2 ; honey, milk, olive oil, oil of sesame, a small measure of each; flower garlands, 8. Farewell.'

3-5 The most important winter festival, celebrated precisely in the month of Hathyr, was the 'Icıєia (cf. Vandoni, Feste pubbliche e private, p. I4I).
 (cf. If $B$ iii, I8) or more probably $\mu$ ккрóv $=$ a little : in 1211 io there is no measure given for oil, honey and milk (cf. also SB 2266, 21 цєкро̀v є́ $\lambda a i o v$ ).
2798. $9 \times 25 \mathrm{~cm}$. A.D. 304/5. A receipt issued by two kapsarioi (cf. P. Giss. 50 int.) to a fellow worker for the price of two artabae of wheat. The price of one artaba of wheat here attested is $\mathrm{I}, 200$ drachmae, i.e. about ${ }_{3} 33$ drachmae less than the price stated in the Edictum de pretiis i i (cf. Johnson, Egypt and Roman Empire, p. 58). The fact is not surprising: the edict stated only the maximum over which the sale was illegal and we have evidence for cereal prices lower than those in the edict (cf. Rémondon, Chr. d'Ég. lxiii (1957), p. 135; Mickwitz, Geld und Wirtschaft, pp. 73-4). In the year ${ }_{314}$ a price of ro,ooo drachmae per artaba is attested (cf. P. Cair. Isid., p. 174), an increase of 833 per cent over the rate in the present text dated in $304-5$.







'Aurelius Munatius and Aurelius Ammonius, dressing-room attendants, to Aurelius Horion, their fellow worker, greeting. We have received from you for the price of two artabae of wheat, total 2 art., two thousand (four hundred) drachmae of silver, total 2,400 dr. Year I3 and I of our lords Constantius and Galerius, Augusti, and Severus and Maximinus, most noble Caesars. .. ' (2nd hand) 'We, Aurelius Munatius and Aurelius Ammonius, have received as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Didymus, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

5 The supplement [ $\pi v]$ ] $o \hat{v}$ is doubtful. I avoid the supplement [ $\dot{\alpha} \times \cup \cup \cup \rho o u$ because measurement in artabae would be unusual for chaff (cf. WB; Hombert and Préaux, Chr. $d^{\prime}$ Eg. xxx (1940), p. 294) and the price would be too high for this year (cf. P. Cair. Isid., p. 92).
$6\langle\tau \epsilon \tau \rho a \kappa o c i a c\rangle$ : apparently omitted in error, since we seem to have the original edge of the papyrus, so that there would not even be space to read [ $v$ ].
$2799.9 .5 \times 13 \mathrm{~cm}$. Sixth century. Application to an agent of the Count Strategius (uncertain whether I, II, or III). 5 lines, complete.





'When your excellency was present you heard my petition about the six golden pieces of the fine and you promised to do what is possible in order to set right these things for me. I renew now my requests that you together with my lord his excellency Strategius the Comes deign to cause the towmakers who are contesting this affair to receive letters that they may refrain from annoying me.'

3 Cтрaлク́yoc: Strategius I, II, or III? II seems favoured on palaeographical grounds and as a person interested in the activities on the estate.

4 cır[ $\pi 0 \pi]$ ooov́c: a new word. The first $\pi$ might also be $\tau$, but $\pi$ seems satisfactory. cut[or]ooovic would hardly fill the space.
2800. $10 \times{ }_{13} \mathrm{~cm}$. Census return. A.D. 188/9. For the formula and the significance of the names of the prefect and ex-prefect see $\mathbf{2 7 6 2}$ introd. Meagre traces of a similar item preceding this one show that it was part of a сvүкодд $\dot{c} \boldsymbol{\mu} \mu \nu$. The foot and some of the ends of the lines are broken away. After line 16 there are traces of two more lines.








'From Theon, son of Pausirion, grandson of Sarapion alias Pausirion, mother Eudaemonis alias Apia from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In compliance with orders given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, ex-prefect, I register for the house-by-house census of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the (house?) belonging to me and my full-brothers Plutarchus and Sarapion alias Pausanias and to Her . . ., the son of our deceased sister . . . alias Apia . . .'

## APPENDIX

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

I 180 (description). Text in ZPE 3 (1968) p. 16r cf. ibid. p. 2 and Tafel I (a).
II 302 (description). Text in BASP vi p. 51, with photo.
II 384. Extract in II p. 280. In 2877 n. $\pi v \rho o \hat{v} \tau \rho \iota \omega\left(\quad\right.$ ) cúv $\pi(\alpha \nu \tau \alpha)$ : for $\tau \rho \iota \omega()$ read $\tau \rho \iota^{\mu}=\tau \rho \iota\left(\mu \eta \eta_{\nu} \nu\right)$. See XXXVIII 28418 n .
III 513, 29. For Oùєєтьiou read Oúєccidiou. See P. Petaus 106 n .
IX 1201. For v(iro) p(erfectissimo) praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) read v(ices) a(genti) praef(ecti) Aeg(ypti). See $C E 44$ (1969) p. I 35.
XIV 1719. Correct CÉ 40 (1965) p. 357 ; cf. SB 10275, BASP vi (1969) $20-1$.

 43 (1968) pp. 369-70.
XX 2223, Euripides, Bacchae. E. G. T. would date the text in early ist cent. A.D. R. A. Coles notes that 1074 is not omitted in the original. Read $\epsilon]$ Хоиса $\nu \omega \tau \circ \div \kappa \delta \epsilon \subset \pi о \tau \eta \nu \epsilon \phi \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \nu$. II3I end, Levitt reads $\eta \nu \delta \epsilon \pi a c a$ op $[0 v$, rightly. Fragment (b) has been identified by R. A. Coles and M. K. Haslam independently as the begimnings of 1072-6.
XX 2265 marginalia. New reading in CÉ 43 (1968) pp. 367-8.
 in response to another suggestion from Prof. N. Lewis.)
 (R. A. Coles from the original, in response to a letter from Prof. N. Lewis, suggesting conjecturally $\pi \alpha \rho \grave{\alpha} \tau o \hat{v} \theta \epsilon \lambda \eta$ そ́covтoc ктл.)
XXV 2435, 27 . For [ $\epsilon \dot{u}]$ Xaic read $[\psi v]$ גaic? See $Z P E$ iv (1969) p. 150.
XXVII 2479, 26. є $\dot{\theta} \theta \epsilon v i a c=t a x$ for annona ? See RÉG lxxx (1967) 353-62.
XXXI 2586 title. For A.D. 253 read A.D. 264. (J. R. Rea.)
 unguent'. See Parola del Passato 121 (1968) I-4.

 Princ. iii 133 2. (A. K. Bowman.)



 that the position of $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa \pi a \tau \rho o{ }^{c}$ indicates that it should be taken with $\mu \iota \subset \theta$ ov́ $\mu \in \nu \circ c$ not $K o \rho \nu \eta \lambda i o u$. Translate therefore 'A certain Salpon, son of Cornelius, lessee in succession to his father of a farm' etc.

7 for ikavà read iкavà ...
I4 for $\kappa v \rho[\iota o c]$. . read $\kappa$ ќp $[\iota o c$.

XXXIV 2713, 4. For $\tau \hat{\omega}, a .[.] .[\pi \alpha ́ \pi \pi] \omega$ read $\tau \hat{\omega} \pi a v[\tau]!\pi[\alpha ́ \pi \pi][\omega$, i.e. 'There were born, in all, to my
. . . grandfather . . . three children.' (H. C. Y.)
$6 \mu \in \tau a \xi v ́ ; \mu \epsilon \tau \circ \xi v$ pap. (H. С. Y.).
 тò $\chi \rho \epsilon \in \omega \nu$. (J. R. Rea.)
$8 \delta^{\prime}$ '̇тістасє; $\delta \epsilon \epsilon \pi \iota c \tau a c \epsilon$ рар. (H. С. Y.)
Io $\pi \rho о \pi \epsilon с о и ́ c \eta c ; \pi \rho о с \pi \epsilon \subset о \cup<\eta<$ pap. i.e. 'from the inheritance devolving (upon us)'. (II. C. Y.)

є́кєїсє II. (H. С. Y.)
$I_{3} \epsilon \pi \pi^{\prime}$; $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota$ pap. read $\epsilon \pi i$. (H. C. Y.) (Items marked H. C. Y. were contributed by Prof. Youtie from a photograph.)
 (1968) p. 247; JE $A$ xiv (1928) p. 27. (J. R. Rea.)
P. Fay. 355 (description). Text in $J J P^{13-14}$ (1961-2) pp. 48-5I ; lines $3^{-4}$ corrected in $2 P E 3$ (1968) p. I64, see Tafel IV.
P. Hibeh $\mathrm{r}_{54}$ (description). Text in BASP vi (1969) 4it-3.

## INDEXES

Small roman numerals refer to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, GreekEnglish Lexicon. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. Round brackets indicate that a word is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol.

## I. 2745

(a) Hebrew Names

| Iaad 2745A 16. |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Iaßeıc 2745A 4. |
| Iaß $\quad$ [ 2745C 20. |  |
| Іаєк[2745С 12. |  |
| Iapelv 2745A 6, С 9. |  |
| $\operatorname{Ia\nu \omega [2745C22.}$ |  |
| Iaxє $¢$ 2745С 5. |  |
| Iaw 2745B II-14, 17, 18-20. |  |
| $I \delta a[2745 \mathrm{c}$ то. |  |
| $I \epsilon \beta[2745 \wedge 3$. |  |
| Iє $\operatorname{\beta aa\lambda } 2745 \mathrm{C} 21$. |  |
| $I_{\epsilon} \theta \in \rho 2745 \mathrm{~A}$ I5. |  |
|  | Ієкє $\mu \iota a$ [2745C 14]. |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& I \in \lambda_{\iota \epsilon \zeta \text { ¢ }} \text { [2745A } 20 \text { ?]. } \\
& I \epsilon \lambda \iota \phi[2745 \mathrm{C} 23 . \\
& I_{\epsilon} \mu a \rho \epsilon \mu \text { 2745A } 9 . \\
& I \epsilon \mu \text { оип } 2745 \mathrm{~A} 5 \text {. } \\
& I_{\epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \omega} \theta 2745 \mathrm{c} 8 . \\
& \text { Ієрк. [2745С } 15 . \\
& \text { Ієркаал 2745С } 16 . \\
& \text { I } \epsilon \subset \in \subset \leftharpoonup[2745 \mathrm{C} \text { i. } . \\
& \text { Iєccal 2745c } 6 . \\
& \text { I€ } \phi \text { Oou [ 2745C } 19 . \\
& \text { IӨацар 2745A 8. } \\
& \text { Iссаар } \omega \boldsymbol{2} \text { 2745A } 7 . \\
& I \omega \alpha \beta 2745 \mathrm{~A} \text { I, С } 7 .
\end{aligned}
$$

## (b) Greek Words

aicxív 2745B4. àvavevavc $\mu$ и́voc (sic P.) 2745B 16. å $\pi \alpha ́ \rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ 2745B до. au̇тóc 2745 ${ }^{\text {B } 5 .}$
$\beta o \eta \theta_{\epsilon l a} 2745$ B 20.
$\gamma \nu \omega ิ c ı c$ 2745 ® $^{17}$.
$\delta \epsilon \xi$ ıóc 2745 в 6.
б८ $\delta$ а́скадос 2745в 14 .
є $\beta$ оо ос 2745в 22.

є́коисьóт $\eta$ с 2745B 12.
Є่ $\lambda \alpha \iota \prec \hat{\nu}$ 2745B 7 .
$\eta{ }^{\eta} 2745$ B 4, 2x.
$\dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a 2745^{\text {B }} 5$.
$\theta$ єóc 2745в 5 .
íवरúc 2745B II.
ката́схєсьс 2745в ІЗ.
$\mu \nu \eta \dot{\mu} \mu$ 2745B $^{\text {в }}$ g.
$I \omega \alpha \mu \omega \nu[2745 \mathrm{~A}$ I8].
$I \omega \zeta_{\alpha \chi \alpha \rho}$ 2745A 19].
$I \omega \eta \lambda 2745 \mathrm{~A}$ io.
$I \omega \tau \alpha \delta \in 2745$ A 17 .
$I \omega \nu \alpha \delta \alpha \beta 2745 \mathrm{~A} 12$.
Ішса $\beta_{\epsilon \epsilon}[\mathbf{2 7 4 5} \mathrm{A} 21]$.
$I \omega \subset \in \delta \epsilon \kappa[2745 \mathrm{C} 4]$.
$I \omega \subset \eta[2745 \mathrm{C} 17$.
$I \omega \subset \eta \rho[2745 \mathrm{C}$ I8.
I $\omega \phi$ алєс 2745A 14.
I $\omega \chi$ а 2745 A 13.

گұрасно́с 2745B 4.
оікт兀рдо́c 2745в 9.
$\pi \epsilon \rho \iota с$ с́́ 2745 ${ }^{2} \mathrm{I}_{5}$.
тькрі́а 2745в 8.
тістис 2745в 18.
$\pi \lambda \eta \subset \mu о \nu \eta^{\prime} 2745$ в 21.
 P.).

## II. NEW LITERARY TEXT

ả𧰨́́v 27467.
aivıура 2746 I4.
ảкоv[2746 24, 25.
ả $\lambda \lambda a ́ 27466$.


```
ảcто\chiєîv 2746 6.
\betaá\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu 2746 4, 3'.
\betaou\lambda\etá}27462
\gamma\etaि\rhouc 2746 24.
```

[^4]
є $\gamma \omega \dot{\omega} 2746$ II，I4，22， 32.
є́к 2746 II．
${ }^{*}$ Ект $\omega \rho 27467$. ‘E入入ךр（－） 274630. द́ $\xi 0 \lambda \lambda u ́ v a r ~ 274625$.
єँ $\chi \epsilon \iota \nu 2746 \sigma$.
गें ос 2746 Í．
$\theta a \rho \subset \in i ̂ \nu 2746$ I．
içávaı 2746 I．
íc $\omega<27468$.
каi 2746 2，I7．
ка́ $\mu \not \xi 27464$.
$\kappa \alpha ́ \mu \nu \epsilon \iota \nu 2746$ I．
Kасса́vסра［2746 4，6，7，8，Іо？， I2？I6？，I9？］．
$\kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu-274629$.
коьข́c 2746 го．
крєіссни 27462.
$\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \in \epsilon \nu 27466$.
$\lambda \in u ́ c c \in ⿺ 辶 2746$ Iз．
入о́yoc 2746 I4．

$\mu \epsilon i \zeta \omega \nu$ see $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma a c$ ． $\mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota 2746$ то． $\mu \dot{\prime} 2746$ I．
$\nu \kappa \kappa \hat{\nu} 2746$ Іо．
ขข้̂ 2746 то．
ó 2746 2，5， 30.
ò $\lambda \lambda$ évat 274628.
öc 2746 г 1 ．
oủ 2746 I9．
ỡठac 2746 зा．
$\pi \alpha i ̂ c 2746$ I．
таракєлєข́єьข 2746 I9． $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \pi \lambda \alpha \zeta_{\epsilon \iota \nu} 2746$ І 7. ППд七ஸ́тךс 27465. тои́c 2746 I．

Пріанос［2746 1，5］．
$\pi \rho o ́ 2746$ I6．
$\pi \rho o ́ c 2746$ з
$\pi \rho о с \delta \dot{\epsilon} \chi \in \subset$ ©a، 27462.
$\pi \dot{v} \rho$ оос 2746 I6．
cóc 2746 2， 30.
тє́кขоข 27465.
тíc 2746 5，II，I3．
$\phi \theta \epsilon ́ \gamma \gamma \epsilon \subset \theta a \iota 2746$ I4．
$\phi \rho \alpha ́ \zeta \in \iota \nu 27465$.
$\phi \rho \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu 2746$ г7．
$\chi$ єі́р 2746 зо．
Xоро́с 2746 5，6， 7.
§ 2746 I．
ஸ่ $\delta \eta^{\prime} 2746$ 3，9，12，15，18， 22 26， ［34］．
ш́c 27466.

## III．EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

## Augustus

Kaícap Iear 40？ 27727.

## Vespasian


Өєòc Oủєстacıavóc 2757 i［2］，ii 2.

## Domitian



## Trajan

 2754 4－5．

 II－I4．
Hadrian
Åpıavòc Kaîcap ó кúpıoс Year 327765 Year 152774 iI，Iз．
Marcus and Verus



## Commodus



## Caracalla

 Cєßactóc Year（20？） 2777 I－3．

## Gordian III



## Decius，Herennius，and Hostilianus


 Cє Bactoí Year 22795 30－8．
Valerian and Gallienus

 8－іо．

## Probus




## Diocletian and Maximian，Constantius and Maximian

 oi є̇тıфа⿱㇒日́статоl Kaícapєс 2765 4－7．
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ It seems likely that an unedited fragment of Plato, Gorgias was by the same scribe. E. G. T.

[^1]:    I This was written before the appearance of G. Cavallo, Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica, who dates 2IOI (p. 65) to the late fourth century. The dating cannot be argued here. [The assignment to the late fourth century credited to me in the publication of this text by Dr. Paap in The Xenophon Papyri no. $5, \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{I}_{3}$, rests on a misunderstanding. E. G. T.]

[^2]:     21．ciro入óyou

    25 1．citodoyía

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare now a subscription to $B G U$ xi ii 2116; from the plate (Taf. VIII) one might hazard something like D]EDANICA TAS PROCIM[ENAS ARGY]| 22 [RIV DRACHMA]S • HEBDEME-
     certain and the inference that the subscription is Greek in Latin letters is plainly to be made. The editor cites as a parallel P. Tebt. ii 586 , which has a three-word endorsement written in the same way. While this note was in the press substantially the same correction was published independently by Dr. G. M. Browne in ZPE IV (1969) pp. 45-6.

[^4]:    Sєıvóc 27464. $\Delta$ іі́овос [2746 II, 14, 16]. бо́ $\mu$ ос 2746 II.
    ঠистиұєiv 27468.
    ঠистvхท́c 27467.

